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AN
ESTIMATE
OF THE
MANNERS
AND
PRINCIPLES
OF THE
TIMES.

By the AUTHOR of
ESSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICS, &c.

Tu, ne cede Malis; sed contra audentior ito.

VOL. II.

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PART I.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

ON THE

RULING MANNERS

AND

PRINCIPLES.



VOL. II.

B

REGISTERED

PART I

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

ON THE

RULING MANNERS

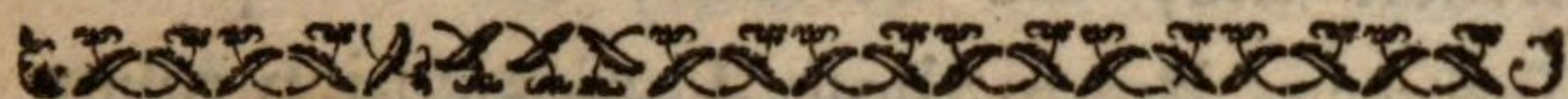
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PRINCIPLES

REGISTERED

B

Vol. II



PART I.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

ON

The RULING MANNERS and
PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

The Design of this VOLUME.

HAD the first Volume of this SECT.
Work met with a less favourable I.
Reception in the World, a second had not
been offered to its Perusal.

THERE are certain Subjects, in which
the Public are little concerned; and in
Vol. II. B 2 which

SECT. which they are certainly no competent
I. Judges. But in those Topics which relate
to the moral or political Happiness of Man,
the general Voice of a People is perhaps
the best Criterion of Truth and Falsehood.

I SHALL not dwell at present on the
Proof of this. I only speak my Opinion ;
and this, no farther than to apologize for
these additional Remarks, which are in Part
thrown out in Consequence of that Belief.

THE Author easily foresaw, that a Work
of this Nature, whose very Existence de-
pended on the severest Impartiality, must
give Offence to many Individuals : that by
some he must be reckoned arrogant and
assuming, by others imprudent, and blind
to his own Interests ; that by one Set he
should be stigmatized as a Republican, by
another as a Tory : That some should al-
low the Substance of the Work to be good,
but affirm it to be stolen ; others, that the
Substance

Substance was his own, but altogether good S E C T.
for nothing. That he should by Turns be I.
stigmatized as the Friend of arbitrary Rule,
and seditious Democracy; as an insolent
Abuser of those in Power, a servile Flat-
terer of those who have none; that every
contradictory Charge should be heaped up-
on him, which blind Partiality, effeminate
Manners, profligate Principles, selfish Cun-
ning, political Servility, and Depravity of
Heart could suggest, was from the first his
Expectation (not his Fear) because it was
his determined Purpose, to combat these
Enormities.

WITH much Calmness therefore hath
he heard of these various Accusations, and
leaves those who chuse, at their full Li-
berty to believe any of them, or all. In
the mean time, he wraps himself up in
the Integrity of his Intentions, and in those
undeserved Honours which have been done

SECT. his little Work, both in his own and in
I. foreign Countries.

HE hath heard too, of certain written Criticisms on his *Estimate*: But if he does not read, how can it be expected he should answer them? Yet this he believes, from the Report of some of his Friends, that if his temporary Critics had applied to him for Occasions of Censure or Reproof, he could have furnished them with a juster Catalogue than what they have produced against him in their still-born Essays. As therefore these Gentlemen, it seems, profess themselves the Servants of the ungrateful Public, it must needs be agreeable to them, that an Author should alleviate their despised Labours, and set himself to criticise his own Writings.

THIS therefore is declared to be the simple Intent of the present Volume: And
that

that his Readers may more clearly com-
prehend the main Drift of a Work which,
from its Nature, cannot admit of Form,
he thinks it expedient to premise the several
Classes, under which his Remarks will
fall.

SECT.
I.

First, they will contain *Retractions* of
such Mistakes as the Writer thinks he hath
committed.

Secondly, of *Proofs* in such Points as
were affirmed and not proved.

Thirdly, of *Illustrations* in those Particu-
lars which were hinted, but not explained.

Fourthly, of *Replies* to such capital Ob-
jections, as have been made to his general
System, by preceding Writers on the same
Subject.

Fifthly, of the *Consequences* which may
be fairly deduced from his Principles, and

SECT. thro' a designed Brevity were omitted in
 I. the first Volume.

THE intelligent Reader will readily comprehend, that these several Topics are not to be collectively considered, in the Order in which they are here laid down; but touched on as they rise successively in the Perusal of the first Volume. To *that* they refer; and therefore any other Disposition of Parts than what is subordinate to the Method there pursued, though it might carry the Appearance of *Order*, would be *Disorder* in the Result.

SECT. II.

Remarks on the introductory Section of the first Volume.

SECT. THE very first Paragraph, it seems,
 II. wanted an Explanation. For when the

 Author affirmed that “our Misfortunes
 “had not their Source in the particular
 “and

“ and accidental Conduct of Individuals, SECT.
“ but arose from permanent and establish- II.
“ ed Causes :” His Affirmation has been
wrested into this unmeaning Form, “ that
“ no Individuals were delinquent in their
“ respective Stations.” The candid Critic
will not hastily lay this Charge upon him.
For in Truth he meant not to deny, that
all may have been delinquent in their
Turn. What he insists upon, is this,
“ That this Failure or Delinquency is not
“ merely personal or accidental; but
“ founded in the established Manners and
“ Principles of the Times; and therefore
“ cannot probably be rectify’d effectually,
“ by any Change of Men, or even of
“ Measures, till these Manners and Prin-
“ ciples are controuled.” Need we any
additional Facts, to prove this Truth?

He spoke too of certain profligate
Scribblers, who find their Account in lay-
ing all to the Charge of a few Individuals.

SECT. It hath been asked, “ who are these Scrib-
 II. “ blers?” Indeed, he remembers not
 their Names; and besides, if he did, the
 Catalogue would be too large to insert
 here. Their Characters, however, he can
 give in a few Words. “ All those who
 “ dabble on the Surface of the political
 “ Deep; who ply their wretched Oar for
 “ Bread, hire themselves out to whoever
 “ offers them a Fare; and then, like true
 “ *Thames-Watermen*, abuse every Man
 “ that passes who is better dressed than
 “ themselves, or their Retainers.”

THESE Men have been toiling many a
 Day, to impress the Body of the People
 with this Opinion, “ That if certain In-
 “ dividuals were but removed from the
 “ public Administration, our Affairs
 “ would of course go well.” This hath
 been the Cry so long, that, till of late, the
 Truth of the Affirmation hath scarce been
 doubted. The Manners, the Principles,
 the

the Characters, the Conduct, of the SECT.
higher Ranks and leading Members of the II.
Community, from whence alone every
State will for ever derive its particular Co-
lour and Complexion, Strength or Weak-
ness; these were never taken into the Ac-
count. Alas, what can it avail, that a
Nation hath a Head, if she have no
Hands! But Experience is the best Tea-
cher: She hath already taught us much
on this Topic; and, I fear, will teach us
more.

“ AMONG all Causes, none perhaps so
“ much contributes to raise or sink a Na-
“ tion, as the Manners and Principles of
“ its People*.” Many other Causes may
concur, and may indeed be the immediate
Instruments of a Nation’s Ruin; while
the original Cause lies hid, or is seen only
by those few, who dare descend and pe-
netrate to the Foundations of political
Happiness and Stability. ’Tis easy to see

* Vol. I. p. 13.

when

SECT. when an Arch is shrunk; 'tis quite another Thing to find out the original Cause of its giving Way.

II.

THE President MONTESQUIEU hath a fine Observation, which may well be apply'd to this Subject; though that great Writer hath not so apply'd it. He says, “ that, if
 “ any Nation is undone by a particular
 “ Event, as the Loss of a Battle, there
 “ must be some general Cause, why the
 “ Loss of a single Battle could undo that
 “ Nation *.” He adds, “ we see that for
 “ near two Centuries the Land Armies of
 “ *Denmark* have been almost always beaten
 “ by those of *Sweden*: Setting aside
 “ the natural Courage and the Weapons
 “ of the two Nations, there must be some
 “ internal Defect in the military or civil
 “ State of *Denmark*, which could be sufficient to produce that Effect: And I
 “ think it would not be difficult to deve-

* Grand. des Romains, &c. l. xviii.

“ lope

“lope it *.” ’Tis pity he did not exert his S E C T.
Sagacity in this Enquiry. It was the Fate II.
of *France* to be always beaten by the
Allies in the general War which ravaged
Europe, in the Beginning of this Century.
What might be the ruling Causes of that
general Effect, may hereafter be confi-
dered. Far different is the Fate of *France*
and *England* at present: And it hath
been, and is the Writer’s main Intent to
prove, that the ruling Cause of this strange
Catastrophe lies in the Manners and Prin-
ciples of the leading Ranks of this dege-
nerate Nation, and to trace those Man-
ners and Principles to their respective
Sources.

LET me here add another Observation.
Political Writers have generally attributed
the Fall of States to some defective, false
or improper Principle woven into the ori-
ginal Constitution of their *Laws*. Now

* Ibid.

this,

SECT. this, in that Extent in which it is generally affirmed and understood, seems an entire Mistake. For salutary Principles and Manners will of themselves secure the Duration of a State, with very ill-modelled Laws: Whereas the best Laws can never secure the Duration of a State, where Manners and Principles are corrupted. Of these Truths, History affords Instances abundant. The general Defect, therefore, of political Institutions hath been, their not effectually providing for the Continuance and Stability of Principles and Manners; of Religion, Public Spirit, Honour, Temperance, Fortitude. This Truth will perhaps be readily allowed, as it regards Nations that are deeply sunk in Effeminacy, and ready to be swallowed up by some warlike Neighbours: But it is no less certain, as it regards the internal Ballance of Power in any Nation whatever; although Volumes have been written on that Subject, without

2 out

out so much as taking this Truth into the S E C T.
Account*. To offer one Instance, out of II.
innumerable that might be brought from
every Period of History;—It is the sole
Force of *Manners* and a *Principle*, that
prevents *France* from sinking into the
deepest and most abandoned Despotism.
This Principle, and it's correspondent
Manners give the *French* many of the
Blessings of Liberty; while their mere
political Constitution favours as much of
Despotism as that of many of their Neigh-
bours, who feel all the Rigours of Op-
pression.

HENCE then appears the important Use
of investigating the real and particular State
of the Manners and Principles of a Com-

* Two of our own Countrymen, Lord *Bolingbroke*
and Mr. *David Hume*, (the first of them esteemed a
capital Writer in Politics) have written whole Systems
of Policy, without so much as mentioning, or seem-
ing to regard, this ruling Circumstance.

monwealth,

SECT. monwealth : Since, altho' it be a Circum-
11. stance totally overlooked by many superficial Pretenders to the political Science, and loofely and blindly declaimed by upon others, yet is it the only Method by which we can rationally determine the Strength or Weakness, the Danger or Security of a State.

AND here the penetrating MACHIAVEL seems to have erred in his Determinations on this Point. He says, “ As good Customs cannot subsist without good Laws, “ so good Laws cannot be executed without good Customs*.” The latter Part of the Sentence is a great Truth : The former Part is a vulgar Error. So long as the Causes of corrupt Manners are absent, good Manners preserve themselves without

* Disc. l. i. c. xviii.

The several Passages quoted from MACHIAVEL, are generally taken, with very few Alterations, from the Translation published in 1680 : The Author did not think it necessary to load the Page with the Passages in the Original *Italian* ; as it is a Language, which but a few of his Readers may have studied.

“ Laws,

Laws, or with bad Laws. Good Laws SECT.
II.
are only then necessary, as the Means of
Prevention, when corrupt Manners or
Customs take Place.

“To rail at the Times at large, can
“serve no good Purpose; and generally
“ariseth from a Want of Knowledge, or
“a Want of Honesty *.” No Labour is
more *useless*, than that of railing at the
Times at large, because, as a great Writer
hath observed, “no certain Rule can be
“prescribed, unless we know the Degrees,
“or Kinds of Corruption †”. No La-
bour is more *easy*, than to rail at large on
the Corruptions of the Times, because
there are Corruptions in *all* Times. No-
thing perhaps is more *difficult*, than to point
out the peculiar Colour, and leading Cha-
racter, of any Times: Because this requires
not only a just and extended Discernment

* Vol. I. p. 15. † Machiavel's Disc. B. i. c. 18.

SECT. of Men and Things as they exist, but as
II. they unite, act, or are acted on, as Causes
 and Effects. It must likewise be the
 Result of a severe Impartiality, which can
 stand aloof, superior to all Connexions; a
 Quality seldom found, and never approved,
 but by the Impartial. To the first of these
 Qualities, *Dulness* or *Refinements* are as
 dangerous Enemies, as *Attachments* or *Re-
 sentments* to the last.

“ IN some Respects, perhaps, there is
 “ no Time nor Country delivered down to
 “ us in Story, in which a wise Man would
 “ so much wish to have lived, as in our
 “ own *.” It hath been asked, in what
 Respects? Let us do Justice to our Age
 and Country in every Regard. A political
 Constitution, superior to all that History
 hath recorded, or present Times can boast:
 A religious Establishment, which breathes
 universal Charity and Toleration: A

* See Vol. I. p. 15.

Separation

Separation from the Continent, that naturally secures us from the Calamities of Invasion, and the Temptations to Conquest* : A Climate, fertile in the substantial Comforts of Life : A Spirit of Liberty, yet unconquered : A general Humanity and Sincerity beyond any Nation upon Earth : An Administration of Justice, that hath even silenced Envy. These are Blessings which every *Englishman* feels, and ought to acknowledge. Search thro' all

SECT.

II.

* MACHIAVEL, speaking on the Stability of a Commonwealth, reasons in the following Manner.
 “ I should think, therefore, a Commonwealth that
 “ would stand long, should seat itself in so strong
 “ and inexpugnable a Place, that it might not apprehend any sudden Insult ; nor make itself so great
 “ as to become formidable to its Neighbours. For
 “ the common Motives that excite People to
 “ make War upon a Commonwealth, are two ;
 “ either to *conquer* it themselves, or to *secure themselves* against it : And by the aforesaid Expedient,
 “ both these Motives are prevented †.” This Reasoning he applies to SPARTA and VENICE : I need not point out to the Reader, how much more applicable it is to BRITAIN.

† Disc. Pol. 1. i. c. 6.

C 2

the

SECT. the most admired Periods of the most ad-
 II. mired Countries, the most flourishing Æra's
 of *Greece, Italy, or France* ; and tell me,
 if in any of these, such an *Union* can be
 found ? A Volume might be written in
 Proof and Display of this Superiority.

“ NOTWITHSTANDING this, our Situa-
 “ tion seems most dangerous : We are roll-
 “ ing to the Brink of a Precipice that must
 “ destroy us *.” Because, in the Writer's
 Opinion, the Manners and Principles that
 are taking Root among us, will soon poison
 these generous Plants, and in the End
 destroy them.

“ AT such a Juncture, to hold up a true
 “ Mirroir to the Public, and let the Na-
 “ tion see *themselves*, as the Authors of
 “ their own Misfortunes, cannot be a very
 “ popular Design †.” This is *improperly*,
 because *too generally* expressed : 'Tis the

* Vol. I. p. 15.

† Ibid.

leading Part of the Nation chiefly, if not only, that the Writer esteems accountable for the Miseries that threaten us : As appears by the general Tenor of his Work.

SECT.
II.

“ WHY then, (it hath been asked)
“ should a Man in private Life and forth
“ to offend the *Great* ?” Indeed, he means not to *give* Offence ; but if it *will* be *taken*, he cannot help it.

SCHEMES of Reformation, 'tis true, are generally regarded as chimerical : And an agreeable Writer, who knew the World, tells us, that “ Quarrels with the Age, and
“ Pretences of reforming it, end commonly like the Pains of a Man in a
“ little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that
“ is fast to a Ship. It looks as if he meant
“ to draw the Ship to him ; but the Truth
“ is, he draws himself to the Ship, where
“ he gets in, and does like the rest of the
“ Crew*.” On this pretty Allusion, I

* Sir William Temple.

SECT. have only to remark, that had the State
 II. of the *Fact* alluded to been more *philosophical*, the *political* Application had been more *just*. For as in reality the Man in the little Boat, while he is drawn towards the *Ship*, draws the Ship towards *him* in a certain Degree; so the Cenfor of Manners, though himself may be drawn towards the ruling Manners of the Times, yet if he censures justly, need not despair of drawing the vast political Machine towards his philosophic Barque, in Proportion to it's *Weight*, however inconsiderable. In plain Terms: Though it were Folly to expect, that any Work of this Kind can effect a general Reformation (a Thing which the Author was never so ignorant as to dream of) yet it wants not it's real Use. It tends to preserve the honest Impressions yet left among us; to keep up the Combat against those Vices, Follies, Corruptions, Profligacies, which, if not opposed, would soon overwhelm

us ;

us: And if the Flame should chance to strike upon a few great and generous Minds, may possibly conspire to rouse a Spirit of public Virtue in this degenerate Kingdom, where it is now weakened or extinct.

S E C T. III.

Farther Remarks on the Spirit of Liberty.

AMONG the remaining Virtues yet left us, the Spirit of *Liberty* was placed as the main Foundation. A Question naturally riseth here, to which the too general Expression of the first Volume affords no Solution: “ Is the Spirit of *Liberty* consistent with an established *Effeminacy*, “ and Want of *Principle*? If not, then “ how can it be affirmed, that this Spirit of “ *Liberty* can subsist among a People, “ whose ruling Character is that of *effeminate Manners*, and Defect of *Principle*?”

SECT.

III.

It seems to me then, that the Spirit of *Liberty* is indeed totally inconsistent with an established *Effeminacy* and Want of *Principle*: Inasmuch as these two Causes, above every other, tend to debase the Mind, and fit it for Subjection. With Regard, therefore, to the latter Part of the Question, the Truth is, that the Spirit of Liberty subsists yet among the *middle*, and some of the *lower* Ranks; but is much weakened, and in many Instances extinguished, among the *higher*. The Reason, I apprehend, why this Virtue abounds more in middle, than in high Life, is, that the first is not yet effectually tainted by the ruling Manners and Principles of the Times. This Distinction accounts for a Fact, which at first View may seem a Contradiction; that the Spirit of Liberty and Effeminacy may subsist together: They do indeed subsist together in the *same Nation*, but not in the *same Ranks*.

“ WHEREAS the Spirit of Liberty hath SECT.
 “ been ingrafted by the Arts of Policy in III.
 “ other Countries, it shoots up here, as
 “ from its natural Climate, Stock, and
 “ Soil *.” It may not, perhaps, sufficiently gratify the Self-esteem of a true *Englishman*, to be told, that the Root of this fair Plant is no other than a certain Impatience of Controul, arising from a Spirit of Chagrin ; which hath, for it’s original Cause, the Soil, Food, Winds, and Climate. This, indeed, hath long been my Opinion ; and it gave me Pleasure, to find it confirmed by that of Baron MONTESQUIEU ; who hath indirectly, at least, affirmed it †. I will add a further Observation ; which is, that as this Spirit of Chagrin, and splenetic Turn of Mind, seems the original Cause of *our* Spirit of Liberty ; so the gay, chearful, and contented Turn of the

* Vol. I. p. 19. † L’Esprit des Loix, l. xiv. c. 13.

S E C T. *French*, is certainly one ruling Cause of their

III. Slavery. The Truth is, they are happy under it ; and therefore no Desire of changing their Condition ever ariseth in their Hearts : For it is Uneasiness alone, that prompts to change. Shift the Inhabitants of each Kingdom into the other's Place, and, in another Generation, the Posterity of the *Slaves* would become *Freemen* ; and those of the *Freemen*, *Slaves*.

WHICH of the two Nations are happier in their respective States, no impartial Man will be bold to pronounce, as he cannot have Trial of the internal Feelings of other Men. But what a Writer of fine Sense hath said, may surely be applied here ; who, speaking of the Condition of the *French*, says, “ I do not call it miserable
 “ (the Term usually given it) because no
 “ Condition is so, but to him that esteems
 “ it so : And if a *Paisan* of *France*
 “ thinks of no more than his coarse Bread
 “ and his Onions, his Canvas Cloaths and
 “ wooden

“ wooden Shoes ; labours contentedly on S E C T.
“ Working-Days, and dances or plays III.
“ merrily on Holidays ; he may, for ought III.
“ I know, live as well as a Boor of *Hol-*
“ *land*, who is either weary of his very
“ Ease, or whose Cares of growing still
“ richer and richer, waste his Life in Toils
“ at Land, or Dangers at Sea ; and per-
“ haps fool him so far, as to make him en-
“ joy less of all Kind in his Riches, than
“ t’other in his Poverty *.”

BUT though absolute Rule be compa-
tible with the Happiness of the *French* ;
I apprehend, that Liberty is the first ne-
cessary Ingredient in the Composition of
English Happiness. As our Temper, re-
sulting from our Food and Climate, na-
turally urgeth us to the Pursuit of Free-
dom ; so, were we deprived of it, our Sen-
sibility of Servitude must be extreme.

* *Sir William Temple*, vol. I, p. 92.

SECT. FARTHER : The fine Writer just now
 III. cited, affirms that “ the *English* do well to
 — “ be watchful of their *Liberty* ; for if ever
 “ they are inflaved, they will be the com-
 “ pleatest *Slaves* upon Earth*.” He hath
 not given the Reasons on which he founds
 his Affirmation : Yet the Remark, tho’
 it carries the Appearance of Refinement
 and Improbability, I believe is just. I
 would Reason thus upon it. The same
 ruling Causes which produce that Gayety
 and Contentment of Heart, which give
 Birth to Servitude in *France*, and make
 the People easy under it—the same ruling
 Causes do naturally produce a gentle Use
 of Power in those who rule. On the
 contrary, if that *English* Liberty should be
 lost, which is the Result of a local Spleen,
 and that local Spleen should continue in
 it’s Strength, who sees not, that the Exer-
 cise of unlimited Power in such a Cli-

* L’Esprit des Loix.

mate, must be barbarous, brutal, and abandoned? S E C T. III.

“ The Destruction of Liberty (in *Eng-*
 “ *land*) by external Violence, will proba-
 “ bly be no more than temporary*.” Be-
 cause that local Spleen which gives it Birth,
 will, in Case of an Overturn, be in per-
 petual Ferment, till it brings about it’s
 Restoration. This Climate will for ever
 form the Complexion of it’s Inhabitants.
 Degenerate *Englishmen*, though *free*, may
 be subdued by *Foreigners*, though *Slaves*:
 But the Climate will conquer in it’s Turn;
 the Posterity of those Slaves will throw off
 the Yoke, and defy the servile Maxims of
 their Forefathers.

“ But it is remarkable, that in Propor-
 “ tion as this Spirit hath grown weak in
 “ *Deeds*, it hath gained Strength in
 “ *Words*; and of late run out, into un-

* Vol. I. p. 20.

“ bound-

SECT. "bounded Licence*." It hath grown
 III. *weak in Deeds*, because it hath grown weak
 among those whose Province it is to *act*:
 It hath gained *Strength in Words*, because
 it is strong in those who have only the Pri-
 vilege to *speak*. It hath of late run out
 into unbounded Licence, through certain
 unhappy Causes which might be explain-
 ed: But the Writer chuseth rather to be si-
 lent, than either to say such Things as might
 seem to aggravate the Evil, or such as
 would be inconsistent with that inviolable
 Regard which he will ever maintain for
 Truth.

SECT. IV.

Remarks on the Spirit of Humanity.

SECT. "The Lenity of our Laws, the many
 IV. "noble Foundations, &c: All these are
 "such indisputable Proofs of a National
 "Humanity, as it were the highest In-

* Vol. I. p. 18.

" justice

“ justice not to acknowledge and ap- S E C T.
 “ plaud*.” This Remark is not to be IV.
 limited to the middle Ranks, like that up-
 on the Spirit of Liberty. For, to do Jus-
 tice to the higher Ranks of this Kingdom,
 it may be maintained, that, in Point of *Hu-*
manity, they have not their Equals upon
 Earth.

IT may seem improbable, or perhaps
 incredible, that such a Spirit of *Humanity*
 should remain in those Ranks among
 whom the Spirit of *Liberty* is weakened
 or extinct. Yet the Fact is indisputable.
 I could point out a certain Transaction,
 which passed last Year in two great Assem-
 blies, in Regard to a Marriage Settlement,
 which, if examined to the Bottom, would
 be an incontestable Proof of what is here
 advanced: In which, for the sake of mak-
 ing two Individuals happy, a Step was
 taken, at which our more rigorous Fore-

* Vol. I. p. 21, 22. fathers

SECT. IV. fathers would have started, as subversive of all Law, Policy, and Freedom. But I forbear.

HOWEVER, thus much in general may be affirmed without Offence, that Humanity neither *improved* nor *controuled*, is always *defective* and *partial*; and *may be* very *dangerous* in its Effects. When once the leading Measures of a Kingdom are drawn from a Regard to *Individuals*, rather than the *Public* State, it is certain, that “the Pillars of that State are shaken.”

LET us now consider, whence this Spirit of Humanity may arise, and how it comes to be continued among a People of such a Complexion. One Cause seems to be the *Excellence* of our *Religion*; which although thrown off and despised by the fashionable World in their Maturity of Age; yet having tinctured the Infant Mind, leaves it's salutary Effects behind it, in spite of every acquired ill Habit. That
the

the Mode of *Christianity* established in this SECT.
Kingdom is at least inferior to none, seems IV.
evident from this one Circumstance, that
“ every other religious sect esteems and
“ loves it, next to their own.”

THE Lenity of our *Laws* is another
Preservative of the National *Humanity*.
Indeed they are drawn in great Part, from
the same pure Fountain of Truth with our
Religion; and therefore may well be ex-
pected, in great Part, to produce the same
happy Effect.

BUT that Justice may be done in every
View, it must not be disguised, that ano-
ther Cause, hinted but not explained in the
first Volume, hath its Share in this amiable
Production. “ Humanity to Distress, we
“ have already marked as another Cha-
“ racter of the Times : But whether our
“ very Effeminacy be not one of its
“ Sources, might probably be a Question
“ more curious in its Progress, than agree-

SECT. "able in its Solution *." Thus, and na-

IV. turally, the Matter may be explained.

Effeminacy begets Cowardice, and a Dread of enduring and suffering of every Kind. Minds thus constituted are easily moved by the *apparent* Sufferings of others : Hence, where opposite Passions prevail not, *Pity* is generally strong in *Women* : And hence Pity, or Humanity, is the natural Growth of an *effeminate Nation* : That is, of a Nation which *resembles Women*.

THIS farther Distinction is to be made : That so far as Humanity ariseth from Courage tempered by pure Religion, it will be regular, extensive, and consistent : So far as it ariseth from Effeminacy, it will be partial, irrational, and confined : Which of these two is the leading Character of the Humanity of our Times and Nation, I leave others to determine. By comparing it with the Humanity of the last Cen-

* Vol. I. p. 16.

tury, when there was more of Principle, S E C T.
and less of Effeminacy, its Character will IV.
be more evident.

“ THESE are concurrent Proofs, that
“ the Spirit of Humanity is natural to our
“ Nation *.” This was inconsiderately
affirmed. The Spirit of Liberty *is*, but
but that of Humanity *is not* natural to our
Nation. The Proof lies in the History of
the Country ; which tells us, that in an-
cient Times, before *Christianity* came a-
mong us, tho’ the Spirit of Liberty was
strong, yet the ruling Character of the Na-
tion was that of *barbarous* and *inhuman*.
This may serve as an additional Proof, that
our present Humanity ariseth from the
Causes assigned above.

S E C T. V.

*A Remark on the Inhumanity of the
ITALIANS.*

LET me here, for once, make an Ex- S E C T.
ursion into my more general Plan, that I V.

* Vol. I. p. 21.

D 2

may

SECT. may bring home an Observation which
 V. hath a distant, though not an intimate
 ————— Connexion with the Subject of the last
 Section.

THE ITALIANS are an effeminate People ; yet in the general Opinion, void of Humanity : They are given to Cruelty, Treachery, Assassination. The Question is, then, from what Causes this singular Appearance may arise ?

It is commonly affirmed and supposed to be *natural* to the Country. But they who talk thus, I think, mean no more (so far as they mean any thing) than this, that there is some Cause unknown, which produceth this Crime in ITALY, rather than elsewhere.

MACHIAVEL, who knew Mankind, ascribes this Degeneracy in the People, to the Wickedness and ill Example of their Rulers. “ If the People of our Times
 “ are infamous for Thefts and Robberies,
 “ and

“ and plundering, and such Kind of Enor- S E C T.
“ mities, it proceeds from the Exorbitance V.
“ and Rapacity of their Governors. Ro-
“ MANIA (before ALEXANDER the sixth ex-
“ *terminated* those Lords who had the
“ Command in those Parts) was a
“ Place of all Kind of Dissoluteness
“ and Iniquity : Every Day, and every
“ trivial Occasion producing notorious
“ Murders and Rapines : Which was not
“ so much from any *Depravity in the Na-*
“ *ture of the People*, as some Persons
“ would have it, as from the Corruption
“ of their Princes : For being poor of
“ themselves, and yet ambitious to live in
“ Splendor and Magnificence, they were
“ forced upon ill Courses ; and in-
“ deed refused none that could supply
“ them*.” This, in some Measure, ac-
counts for the Inhumanity of the People :
But we are still at a Loss, as much as ever,

* Mach. Disc. Pol. 1. iii. c. 29.

SECT. how such an *exterminating* Principle came
V. first among the Great.

WHAT follows, then, seems the natural Solution of the Question. When ITALY became divided into a vast Number of petty States, the Contentions and Factions in these States were endless. The Parties were often too small to levy Armies: Hence Conspiracies, Insurrections, Assassinations by Sword or Poison, were the common, because the readiest Way of prosecuting the political Designs either of the Oppressors or the Oppressed*. By this Means, the dreadful Practice of Assassination, by being applied *politically*, lost a great Part of its Horror in the Minds of the Parties who practised it: Thus it naturally crept into private Use; and hath been of Course transmitted from one Generation to another.

HENCE appears the great Importance of curbing the Violence and Horrors of pub-

* See *Machiavel's* Historical Tracts, *passim*.

lic Contention, by what are called the SECT.
Laws of War and of Nations. Since the V.
opposite Conduct is not only attended with
immediate Cruelties, but, what is worse, is
in Danger of striking its Colours into *private*
Life, and giving even to succeeding
Times the Complexion of *Inhumanity*.

WE must not leave this Subject, without adding a Remark on MACHIAVEL himself; who undoubtedly writ under the Influence of this Habit of thinking so peculiar to *Italy*. For we see, in the Passage now cited, that altho' he speaks with Resentment against the private Murders so common in his Days, yet he mentions those *political Assassinations* with a kind of Approbation, for which ALEXANDER the sixth and his Son VALENTINE, are so justly infamous thro' all *Europe*. He expressly treats of this Method of acquiring Government; and with all the *Sang froid* of a Man talking on a just and legitimate

SECT. Subject *. Hence, Conclusions have been
 V. drawn much in his Disfavour, as a Man
 — abandoned to all Wickedness ; while others
 have adopted the contrary Opinion, and
 affirmed, that he pointed out these Ways
 of iniquitous Policy and Assassination, that
 he might teach Mankind more effectually
 to prevent them. Now in Truth, these
 two Opinions are equally groundless ; for
 on the one Hand, his Writings abound
 with incontestable Proofs, that he was a
 Wellwisher to his Country and Mankind :
 On the other it must be allowed, that he
 hath rather shewn the Methods of treache-
 rous Policy, than the Ways of preventing
 them. The Truth is, those iniquitous
 Practices, which shock *our* Humanity,
 were familiarized to *his* Imagination by the
 common Usage of his Country : Hence
 he treated them, as he did other political
 Maxims of better Stamp, and only talked

* See his Prince, c. viii.

the Language of his Times and Nation. S E C T.
Nay it appears from a particular Passage in V.
his Works, that he vindicated this Practice
of Affassination, as being in some Cases a
Principle of the truest Humanity. CÆ-
SAR BORGIA was counted cruel, yet that
“ Cruelty reduced ROMAGNA, united it,
“ settled it in Peace, and rendered it
“ faithful ; so that if well considered, he
“ will appear much more merciful than
“ the FLORENTINES, who, rather than
“ be thought cruel, suffered PISTOIA to
“ be destroyed *.” These no doubt, are
horrid Maxims, and as could never
have arisen in the Mind of such a Man as
MACHIAVEL, but from the Cause as-
signed above. They are the more to be
lamented, as they have thrown a Cloud
over the Fame of one, who in my Opinion
is the greatest political Reasoner upon Facts,
that hath appeared in any Age or Coun-
try.

* Prince, c. xvii.

S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

Remarks on the Ruling Manners of the Times.

S E C T. VI. **THOUGH** the Writer made his best Efforts, in his first Essay, towards a true *Likeness* of the Genius of the Times ; and tho' he believes he caught the ruling Features ; yet the World should not regard that as a complete Portrait, which, in the Painter's Language, ought only to be styled the *Dead Colour*. The Public therefore is requested to give him a *second Sitting* ; that he may add those particular, characteristic, and finishing Touches of Light and Shade, which escaped his Eye ; and at the same Time smooth off some of those *Asperities*, which might possibly remain upon the Canvas, from the Rudeness of his *first* Pencil.

'TIS again desired, it may not be forgot, SECT.
“ That this Estimate confines itself to such VI.
“ Consequences only, as affect the Dura-
“ tion of the public State : So that the
“ leading Question is, How far the present
“ ruling Manners and Principles of this
“ Nation may tend to its Continuance or
“ Destruction *.” This is the more ne-
cessary to be repeated, because eight Rea-
ders out of ten, it is believed, forget it,
before they had turned the next Leaf.

“ IN Consequence of this Restriction,
“ the Manners and Principles of the com-
“ mon People will scarce find a Place in
“ the Account †.” If the Manners and
Principles of a common People are de-
perately corrupt, they may hasten the Dis-
solution of a State. But although they
be good, they cannot preserve it, if those
of the leading ranks be depraved.

* Vol. I. p. 24. † Ibid.

“ How

SECT.

VI.

“ How far we may be from the last
 “ Period of *Degeneracy*, it were Presump-
 “ tion to affirm : At present, it is certain,
 “ we are not arrived at it. Whenever this
 “ fatal Time approaches, it will come
 “ distinguished by its proper and peculiar
 “ Characters *.” This, and the follow-
 ing Part of the Paragraph, will best be
 commented on by a Quotation from MA-
 CHIAVEL, describing the profligate Period
 of declining ROME : “ Commotions, Dis-
 “ cord, Sedition, Assassinations, in Peace ;
 “ cruelty in War ; Princes murdered ;
 “ *Italy* afflicted ; its Cities destroy’d ; *Rome*
 “ burnt ; the *Capital* by it’s own Inhabi-
 “ tants demolished ; the ancient Temples
 “ desolate ; religious Ceremonies prophan-
 “ ed ; the City full of Adulteries ; the
 “ Sea covered with Exiles, the Rocks with
 “ Blood ; infinite Cruelties committed
 “ daily in the City ; Nobility, Riches, Ho-

* Vol. I. p. 28.

“ nour

wohl ”

“ nour, and *especially* VIRTUE, grown to SECT.
 “ be capital Offences: Informers and VI.]
 “ Calumniators rewarded; Servants insti-
 “ gated against their Masters; Children
 “ against their Parents; and those few
 “ who were so unhappy as to have no
 “ Enemies, destroyed by their Friends*.”

THAT the true Character of the Man-
 ners of our Age and Country is that of
 “ a vain luxurious, and selfish Effemi-
 “ nacy,” the Writer affirms will appear
 from a simple Enumeration of acknow-
 ledged Facts, “ many of them indeed,
 “ in Appearance, too *trite* to merit No-
 “ tice, and too *trifling* for Rebuke; were
 “ they not, in their Tendency, as fatal to
 “ the Stability of a Nation, as Maxims
 “ and Manners more apparently flagi-
 “ tious†.” On this, he understands, a
 Sort of Objection hath been raised, that a
 Work founded on Facts so *trite* and *trifling*,

* Disc. Pol. l. i. c. 10. † p. 29.

must

SECT. must be as *trite* and *trifling* as the *Facts* it
VI. is built on.

Now with Regard to his own Work, he is willing to allow the Objection to hold good, as far as any particular Reader chuseth to think it ought. But with Regard to the Truth of the general Objection, he apprehends it will not hold good, for the following Reasons,

I. BECAUSE all Reasonings on every Subject, ought to be founded on *evident* Facts; and the more evident the Facts are, the more certain and conclusive the Reasoning will be. Now an *evident* Fact is, in this Regard, the same as a *trite* one, before it can properly be apply'd in the Way of Argument: That is, it must offer itself clearly and incontestably to the Observation of the Writer and the Reader; whether it be drawn from ancient *Books* or modern *Practice*.

2. A

2. A SELECTION of *leading* Facts once made, may appear more obvious in itself than it really is. When you see Flowers or Shells well disposed in a Variety of *Festons*, the Work may seem easy and obvious; and the more natural and pleasing the Disposition is, the more obvious it may seem: Yet may it have required a more delicate and inventive Fancy than is suspected, to have made this proper Selection, from that confused Mass of Forms and Colours which Nature offers to the Eye. To speak without a Figure; there are in modern Manners many Appearances wholly contradictory and dissimilar: The Age hath been branded in general Terms, as *ignorant* and *profligate*; it hath been applauded, as *knowing* and *virtuous*. Praise and Censure have been promiscuously and blindly thrown out: But it is another Thing, to mark the peculiar and predominant Virtues and Vices, and give to each,

SECT. each, that Weight and Influence which
 VI. it hath in Nature. On these Distinctions,
 indeed, the very Effence of such a Work
 must depend: A Failure in these necessary
 Distinctions would be a Defect in the
 first Conception; and, like a false Outline
 in a Design, draw after it a Multitude of
 Errors: For, as a delicate Writer hath
 observed, “ l’Allure, principale entraine
 “ avec elle tous les Accidens particu-
 “ liers*.”

§. THE more *trite* and *trifling* the Facts
 may seem, the more their Consequences
 are likely to escape Notice: For Attention
 is naturally fixed only on things of mani-
 fest Importance: Now if indeed, not-
 withstanding this, “ they be in their Ten-
 “ dency as fatal to the Stability of a Na-
 “ tion, as Maxims and Manners *more ap-*
 “ *parently* stagitious;” then, it may be
 not only a Task of some Importance, but

* Grandeur des Romains, c. 18.

of some Delicacy too, to trace them to S E C T. VI.
their Consequences and Sources, to point
out their mutual Influence as Cause and
Effect; and, in the very Plainness and Sim-
plicity of Reasoning, “search out (as a
“good old-fashioned Writer somewhere
“hath it) the Verities less exposed to
“View, and make them so familiar, that
“they who perceived them not before,
“may come as it were to touch them.”

S E C T. VII.

*On the present ruling Motives to Marriage,
and their Effects on Manners and Prin-
ciples.*

THE Writer observed, “that as the S E C T. VII.
“first Habits of Infancy and Youth com-
“monly determine the Character of the
“Man, we might trace the Effeminacy
“of modern Manners, even to the un-
“wholesome Warmth of a Nursery*.”

* Vol. I. p. 29.

SECT. VI. This, though seemingly a good Aim, was falling short of the Mark: Modern Manners, and Principles too, are not a little sway'd by the present *sordid* and *prevailing* Motives to *Marriage*.

WHERE Virtue, Sense, Beauty, Birth, an Union of amiable Qualities, are the Motives that determine to Marriage; there, domestic Love and Happiness are the natural Concomitants. Hence a tender and generous Concern for the real Welfare, the Manners and Principles of the Offspring, naturally riseth and prevails in the Parents. Those Qualities which they see and love in each other, they naturally endeavour to transplant into their Posterity.

Now modern Matrimony, in high Life, (and the same wretched Spirit is creeping into the middle Ranks) is the Reverse of all this. Neither Virtue, Sense, Beauty,

Beauty, Birth, or the fairest Union of SECT.
amiable Qualities, generally determine the VII.
Choice of either Sex. Instead of these,
the most sordid Views of Wealth, or power-
full Alliance; a total Disregard to the
Person chosen; a total Disregard to the
domestic Comforts of Life; the most de-
spicable Motives of Avarice, external Shew,
Dissipation, or Profligacy; these do now
most commonly prevail. Hence naturally
arise Indifference or Aversion between the
Parties.

IN Consequence of this Spirit, and
other Practices which follow it, Separations and Divorces are now more frequent than ever. In the Year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven, when these Tracts were written, there were at one Time seventeen Divorces depending in one Court of Judicature in this Kingdom: A Circumstance of Infamy, unparallel'd in *English* Story.

SECT. VII. THESE fatal Circumstances conspire to
blast our rising Spring. In Families thus
disposed, what can we expect, but that
the *Education* of the Children must be
neglected, or, what is worse, *perverted*?

BESIDES, where neither Mind nor Person are the Objects of mutual Choice, but the vile Consideration of Wealth the leading Motive; there, distempered Bodies, and distempered Minds (being frequently the Inheritors of Wealth) must of course be received, and transmitted to Posterity.

ANOTHER necessary Consequence of this low and selfish Principle of Marriage, is the *keeping* of Women, and the Increase of *illegitimate* Children. For where the sordid Views of Avarice determine to Marriage, when those Views cannot be gratified, a cheaper Way of Gratification than that of Marriage will take Place.

I

Now,

Now, who sees not, that this growing SECT.
VII.
Practice is a dreadful Drawback upon
Manners and Principles? I mean not to
affirm, that illegitimate Children are ne-
ver virtuously brought up: But he must
be bold indeed, who dares assert, that the
Practice of *keeping* Women leads not, in
general, to a *dissolute Education* of the
Offspring.

HERE then we see how fatally this for-
did Motive to Marriage affects the *rising*
Generation, and therefore the Duration of
the State. *When* and *whence* this low Prin-
ciple had its Rise, is a Consideration which
properly belongs to the third Part of this
Work: But, after what hath been ad-
vanced, the original Cause so naturally
offers itself to the Mind, that I need hard-
ly affirm it to have been, “the exorbitant
“ Increase of Trade and Wealth.” In
Scotland, France, Germany, where the Ex-
cess of Trade and Wealth hath not yet

SECT. VII. corrupted Manners, and honest Poverty is
not yet disgraceful, the sordid Views of
Gain seldom determine the Choice of
either Sex to Marriage. This might stand
as a sufficient Proof of the Cause here
assigned: But it will appear still more
evident, if we can fix the Time of this
Principle rising among us, and shew it to
be cotemporary with the *exorbitant* In-
crease of *Trade* and *Wealth*. And this
it happens, we are able to do, upon the
Authority of a good Writer, who at the
same Time that he affirms the *Fact*, seems
to have had no Suspicion of the *Cause*.
“ Our Marriages are made, just like other
“ common Bargains and Sales, by the
“ mere Consideration of Interest or Gain,
“ without any of Love or Esteem, of
“ Birth or of Beauty itself, which ought
“ to be the true Ingredients of all happy
“ Compositions in this Kind, and of all
“ generous Productions. Yet this Custom
“ is of *no ancient Date* in *England*; and I
“ think

“ think I remember, within *less than fifty* SECT.
 “ *Years*, the first noble Families that VII.
 “ married into the City for downright
 “ Money, and thereby introduced by De-
 “ grees this public Grievance, which has
 “ since ruined so many Estates by the Ne-
 “ cessity of giving great Portions to
 “ Daughters; impaired many Families
 “ by the weak or mean Productions of
 “ Marriages, made without any of that
 “ Warmth and Spirit that is given them
 “ by Force of Inclination and personal
 “ Choice; and extinguished many great
 “ ones by the Aversion of the Persons
 “ who should have continued them*.”

HERE, we see, the Date of the Fact
 is settled by clear Evidence: The Rise of
 this Principle, then, was coincident with
 the Time when our Trade and Wealth
 grew *exorbitant*; and may justly be ranked
 among their earliest *apparent Effects*.

* Sir William Temple, Vol. I. p. 268.

S E C T. VIII.

Of another Source of improper Education of Youth.

SECT. VIII. THE Substance of the following just and sensible Remark was sent to the Author from an unknown Hand.

THERE is a Mistake in the Disposal of Youth, which generally prevails, and is of pernicious Consequence to the Public. Their Genius is consulted *too little*, or their Inclination *too much*, in the Choice of a Profession. Their Genius is consulted *too little*, when it is determined perhaps from their Birth, what shall be their Profession, without any Regard had to their future Talents or Disposition. Their Inclination is consulted *too much*, when they are allowed to make a Choice for themselves, while their unformed Opinions are swayed by the first glaring Object that catches

catches their Imagination. If the Boy SECT.
 is in the Neighbourhood of some *Clergy-* VIII.
man, who lives with Hospitality and
 Reputation, the *Ministry* appears to him
 most *desirable*. If he hath had fre-
 quent Opportunities of seeing the Finery,
 Power, and Parade of *Officers* in their
Quarters, nothing perhaps appears more
 charming than the *military Life*. If an
eminent Lawyer lives within his Observa-
 tion, the *Law* will seem the ready Road to
 Wealth and Honour. The fond Parent
 looks on these as happy Omens of Success :
 Hence the Child is indulged in an inconfi-
 derate Choice, without any Warning given
 of the *Duties* and *Difficulties* that attend
 every Profession. When, therefore, he is
 possessed of his hasty Wish, and finds him-
 self among *Thorns*, where he expected
Roses, he grows at once dissatisfied, negli-
 gent, and *useless*. Thus are Numbers mis-
 placed in the World ; and, by this wrong
 Position, are rendered obscure or hurtful,
 when

SECT. when they might have shone and been
 VIII. beneficial to the Public, if fixed in their
 proper Sphere. Many a dastardly Officer
 might have exerted himself with Spirit at
 the Bar: Many a bashful Lawyer might
 have appeared with Credit in the Pulpit:
 Many a bold-swallowing Churchman might
 have been a brave Admiral or General:
 And many an industrious Alderman is
 buried in a Country Curacy.

SECT. IX.

Farther Remarks on the Universities.

SECT. Is it not somewhat strange, that the
 IX. higher a young Man's Rank is in our Uni-
 versities, and the more important those
 Stations are, to which, by that higher
 Rank, he is ordained; the more he is at
 Liberty to take his full Range in the fer-
 tile Fields of *Idleness* and *Inclination*? Yet
 this hath long been the State of our Uni-
 versities; and hath had its Rise, partly from
 the

the mistaken Fondness and Vanity of Pa- S E C T.
rents in high Life, who must needs have IX.
their Sons distinguished by the Article of
Expence, even in a *College*; and partly from
the Temptations of *Gain* and *Credit* in the
Governors and *Tutors* of the several Col-
leges, who thus make their Court to idle
Sons and weak Mothers, in Proportion as
they suffer their wealthy Pupils to live, and
return, laden with *Ignorance* and *Vice*.
However, it were not Justice (to some
Colleges, at least, in one of our Universities)
not to assure the Public, that this fatal
Practice is wearing off; and a *rational Sub-*
jection to College Rules expected and re-
quired from those of the highest Rank
and Station.

THE Writer is informed, that much Ex-
ception hath been made to what he af-
firmed concerning the University *Profes-*
sorships, and the Possibility of their being
rendered useful to the Public. What fol-

lows,

SECT. lows, is a Summary of his Sentiments on
IX. that Subject.

IT was never meant to be affirmed, that the *public Lectures* of Professors should be the only Means of Instruction in the academic Education. This Practice is well known to be very insufficient, in all *foreign Universities* where it takes Place. On the other Hand, neither can the private Lectures of College Tutors be of sufficient Power, for the Reasons assigned in the first Volume.* A Union of these, therefore, seems to be the true and effectual System. *College Tutors* should *instruct* their Pupils; but *College Tutors* themselves ought to be *overseen*, and perhaps *instructed*, by the *Professors* in their several Departments; who ought to be Men of singular Capacity and Eminence, appointed for this great Purpose. The Universities, in this important Circumstance, would do well to consider the State of the great Schools. What a Maim

† P. 32, 33.

would

would those of ETON and WESTMINSTER receive, should the Head Masters desert the Duties of their Station, and leave their Boys to the blind Direction of every pert *Assistant*? The *Heads* of Colleges, indeed, might stand here in the Place of the *Professors*, or at least aid them in this important Task: And it were much to be wished, that, instead of a perpetual Attention to Cards, Tea, sumptuous Entertainments, and Parties of Pleasure, these Gentlemen would now and then recollect what was the *original Purpose* of College Government.

NOTHING of personal Invektive is here intended. The Evil is so general, that it manifestly lies in the Manners of the Times, not in those of Individuals. But this Circumstance makes the Evil so much the heavier, and therefore the rather to be noted, as it tends to prevent all Remedy.

SECT. ONE Remark more shall close my Stric-
IX. tures on this Subject.

To *think* justly, to *write* well, to *speak* agreeably, are the three great Ends of academic Instruction. The Universities will excuse me, if I observe, that *both* are, in one respect or other, defective in these three capital Points of Education. While in CAMBRIDGE the general Application is turned altogether on *speculative* Knowledge, with little Regard to *polite* Letters, *Taste*, or *Style* : in OXFORD, the whole Attention is directed towards classical *Correctness*, without any sound Foundation laid in severe *Reasoning* and *Philosophy* : In CAMBRIDGE and in OXFORD, the Art of *speaking* agreeably is so far from being taught, that it is hardly talked or thought of. These Defects naturally produce dry unaffecting Compositions in the *one* ; superficial Taste and puerile Elegance in the *other* ;

other; ungracious or affected speech in SECT.
both. IX.

SECT. X.

*An additional Remark on modern Travel-
ling.*

To what was observed on this Subject, SECT.
in the first Volume, this farther Remark X.
must be added.

THERE is not, perhaps, a more im-
portant political Principle than this, “ That
“ the ruling Habits of young Men, both
“ in Thought and Action, should be
“ thrown as much as possible into one
“ Channel in every Kingdom, and form-
“ ed suitable to the Laws, the Customs,
“ the Climate, the *Genius*, of their own
“ *Country*.” I have much to say upon
this Subject, on a future Occasion: At
present I shall only observe, that the per-
nicious Practice of early Travelling, so
much in Vogue at present, stands in
direct

S E C T. direct Opposition to this salutary Prin-
X. ciple. The Genius of *our* Country, above all others, is particularly distinguished from that of its Neighbour Nations. To this therefore the Taste and Habits of our rising Youth ought to be severely and unalterably formed, before they be permitted to wander abroad in ignorant Wonder and Curiosity, in those Countries where they imbibe Maxims, political, moral, and religious, essentially opposite to those which are the main Foundations of the Stability of our public State. Thus fraught with mischievous, instead of wholesome Prejudices, our young *Men of Quality* return, at once the Contemners and the Contempt of their own wiser Countrymen.

CERTAINLY, the Legislature could not take a more effectual Step towards restoring Manners and Principles, than by suppressing this most pernicious Practice of *early Travel*.

S E C T.

S E C T. XI.

Farther Observations on the Manners of the Times.

THE Writer, speaking of the Ridicule of modern Dress, observed, that “yet in
“ this, must every Man of every Rank
“ and Age employ his Mornings, who
“ pretends to keep *good Company**.” The
vulgar Reader, after this Observation made,
may probably be at a Loss to know what
is meant by “*Good Company*.” Observe,
how we have imported the Idea from
France: “Les Gens qu’on dit être de
“ *bonne Compagnie*, ne sont souvent que
“ ceux, dont le *vice* est *plus raffiné* †.”

“ THUS we see Gaming established on
“ the two great Pillars of Self-Interest and
“ Pleasure: and on these Foundations
“ seems to rest the Midnight Riot and

* Vol. I. p. 35.

† Lettres Persanes.

SECT. "Dissipation of modern Assemblies *."

XI. This false Taste of Interest and Pleasure hath produced a great Evil, which is now becoming general. Every Man of Fortune hath now a splendid House in Town, where his Forefathers were contented with a temporary Lodging. Here he passeth, at least, half the Year: By which means, the ancient and generous *Hospitality* of the Country is neglected, and *derided*; and a Kind of *polished Selfishness* takes Place. The honest Peasant is *racked* to the last Excess; and not only so, but the Villages are immediately drained of their natural Wealth, which is transported to the grand Scene of *Dissipation*; and with Difficulty finds its Way back again, especially to the remoter Provinces.

It may be objected, perhaps, that the old *Hospitality* was not less *expensive* than modern *Town-Entertainments*. But sup-

* Vol. I. p. 40.

posing

posing this true, there were two Consequences good and salutary. First, the Money was mostly expended for the useful Produce of our own Country: Whereas the modern Entertainments generally consist of such *exotic Articles*, as no *Englishman* of *middle Rank* ever heard of. Secondly, while the old Taste continued, the *great People* of course mixed with their *Neighbours* in the Country: This generous Communication naturally created or improved in them a Spirit of Benevolence towards their Countrymen, though their Inferiors. Hence, when they came to Town on the Business of the Public, they naturally brought along with them a Regard to the real Interests of their Friends and Neighbours, whose good or social Qualities they knew and loved. Now, the present prevailing System of Town-Effeminacy leads to the Reverse of all this. The Country Seats are depopulated; their Owners are estranged from those, with

F 2

whom

SECT. XI. whom the true Interest of their Country requires them to have the closest Connexions. A total Forgetfulness of their provincial Duty takes Place: Vain and Effeminate Dissipation is the End; Money, rapaciously sought after, is the Means; no matter whence, at whose Expence, or on what Conditions it comes; whether from the *Farmer's Purse*, or the KING's *Exchequer*.

“ A KNOWLEDGE of Books, a Taste in
 “ Arts, a Proficiency in Science, was
 “ formerly regarded as a proper Quali-
 “ fication in a Man of Fashion, &c.*” Yet
 even this Taste and Proficiency itself
 ought to be controuled and regulated:
 It ought to be considered as a *secondary*
 and *subordinate* Qualification, subject to
 the higher Views of *Religion, Morals,*
 and *civil Policy*. Otherwise, even the
truest Taste commonly degenerates, and

* Vol. I. p. 41.

forms a Character of illiberal *Conceit* and *Affectation*; drawing down the Mind from higher Pursuits, no less than Effeminacy itself: Perhaps, thus circumstanced, it may even be styled a *Species of Effeminacy*. In Proof of this Remark we need only observe, that the best Proficients in *Poetry*, *Painting*, *Music*, *Literature*, when they are *merely such*, whether their Conversation lies among *Books* or in the *World*, equally form useless and ridiculous Characters; the Difference consists but in a few *Externals*, between the *trim literary Fop*, and the *sullen literary Pedant*.

“ A GENERAL Hash of these, served
“ up in some monthly Mefs of Dulness,
“ is the meagre literary Diet of Town and
“ Country*.” This relates to two notorious Gangs of *monthly* and *critical* Book-Thieves, hackney'd in the Ways of

* Vol. I. p. 43.

SECT. Wickedness, who, in the Rage of Hunger
 XI. and Malice, first *plunder*, and then *abuse*,

maim, or *murder*, every honest Author who is possessed of ought worth their *carrying off*; yet by skulking among other Vermin in *Cellars* and *Garrets*, keep their Persons tolerably out of Sight, and thus *escape* the Hands of *literary Justice*.

“ OUR Operas are disgraced with the
 “ lowest Insipidity of Composition, and
 “ unmeaning Sing-Song*.” This is a Subject, as much talked of, and as little understood, as the deepest Mysteries of State. At another Time the Writer will speak at large on this Matter: At present, the full Discussion of it would break the Texture of his main Design. He therefore contents himself with referring the Reader to an *Essay on musical Expression* †, as the most rational Thing he hath met with on this Subject. He may truly say,

* Vol. I. p. 46. † By Mr. Avison.

with his favourite Author, “ Ces Matieres
 “ demanderoient d’être traitées avec plus
 “ d’étendue: mais la Nature de cet Ou-
 “ vrage ne le permet pas. Je voudrois
 “ couler sur une Riviere tranquille; je
 “ suis entraîné par un Torrent*.”

SECT.

XI.

ONE Remark however, on the Subject of Music, he desires to be indulged in, because it tends directly to mark the Character of the Times. The *Harpsichord*, an Instrument of Power and Compass, is now going out of Use: The *Guitar*, a trifling Instrument in itself, and generally now taught in the most ignorant and trifling Manner, is adopted in its Place: While the *Theorbo* and *Lute*, the noblest, because the most expressive and pathetic of all Accompaniments, are altogether laid aside. What is the Reason of this? Because the Guitar is a *Plaything* for a *Child*; the

* L’Esprit des Loix.

SECT. Harpsichord and Lute require *Applica-*
 XI. *tion.*

“THE manly Exercise of *riding* is generally disused, as too coarse and indelicate for the fine Gentleman*.” This hath been cavilled at, as being false in Fact; the Writer therefore explains himself. He affirms then, (and appeals—to the *Observation*, shall he say, or to the *Practice*, of all his *polite* Countrymen?) that it is disused, as an Exercise that can give Strength and Vigour. The *Riding*, now in Vogue, extends little farther than to a Morning Saunter in *Hyde-Park*; where People of Fashion, like puny and *starved Exotics*, take the Advantage of a *South-Wall*, to shelter themselves from the wholesome Rigours of the Winter Air; to rekindle the dissipated and extinguished Warmth of Nature, and draw new Life from the Powers of a reflected Sun-beam.

* Vol. I. p. 49.

Here,

Here, it is remarkable, that the Sexes S E C T.
 have changed Characters: The Men XI.
 capering about, on *Hobbys* of thirteen
 Hands; while the Women are galloping
 full Speed, on sized and *firey Hunters*.

“ IT may probably be asked, why the
 “ ruling Manners of our Women have
 “ not been particularly delineated? The
 “ Reason is, because they are essentially
 “ the same with those of the Men, and are
 “ therefore included in this *Estimate**.”
 Besides this, there is another Reason. The
 Manners of Women depend on those of
 the Men: They will always be such, as
 the Men chuse to make them.

“ THE Sexes have now little other ap-
 “ parent Distinction, beyond that of Per-
 “ son and Dress; their peculiar and cha-
 “ racteristic Manners are confounded and
 “ lost: The one Sex having advanced in-

* Vol. I. p. 51.

SECT. “ to Boldness, as the other have sunk into
XI. “ Effeminacy *.” The Fact noted in the
— Conclusion of the last Paragraph but one,
may stand, among twenty others, for a
glaring Proof of this.

BUT here, a Difficulty may seem to arise: For if the Manners of Women be always such as the Men chuse to make them, whence comes it, that such a System of Manners is now taking Place among our Women, as is despised or detested by all Men?

Now the Solution of this Difficulty lies in the modern Manners of the Men themselves. In Times when Courage, Generosity, Sense, Sensibility, and other kindred Qualities, form the ruling Character of the Men, a sincere and honourable Regard to the fair Sex naturally prevails: Hence in such Times, Modesty, Gentleness, and

amiable Demeanour, form the Character SECT.
of the Women. But when, as at present, XI.
the ruling Character of the Men is Effe-
minacy, Selfishness, Folly, Insensibility,
and other kindred Qualities; there, all
sincere and honourable Regard for the fair
Sex is of course extinguished: The Con-
sequence riseth of itself. The Women,
finding themselves neglected by the Men,
chuse that System of Manners, which is
most agreeable to their own Views and
Passions.

BUT still it may be asked, why do they
fix in a System of Manners, which Man-
kind naturally abhor? This too, with the
good Leave of my fair Country-Women,
I must (in Quality of *Censor*) be so unpo-
lite as to explain. It is a well known
Maxim, that Necessity hath no Law.
Hence that *Male-Insensibility*, which *Mo-
desty* cannot *attract*, *Impudence* (if it can)
must allure or take by *Violence*. Thus
you

SECT. you see, how naturally the FRIBBLES and
 XI. the DAFFODILS have produced the MESSA-
 LINA's of our Time.

ALAS ! how different is this applauded State, from that antiquated Praise of BRITAIN, “when her *Daughters* were *chaste*,
 “and her *Sons* *valiant*!”

BLUSH, *if ye can*, my degenerate Contemporaries !

SECT. XII.

Of the ruling Principles of the Times.

SECT. THE three great *Principles* which curb
 XII. the selfish Passions, and sway the Manners
 of Men, are those of Religion, Honour, and Public Spirit. The first of these, it was observed, has the *Deity* for its Object ; the second, the *Applause* of Men ; the third, the *Approbation* of our own *Heart*. The Frame and Situation of Man
 admits

admits of no other Principle, from whence S E C T.
the Idea of *Duty* can arise. XII.

THESE Principles operate, by affecting the Mind with certain Kinds of Pleasure and Pain ; which, though they may be called *selfish* in one Sense, are *disinterested* in another. *Moralists*, each pursuing his own System of *Thought*, or perhaps of *Words*, will dispute on this Matter, as long as their Ink lasts. But as I write to the World, I quit what is merely speculative, for what relates to Manners and Action. It is enough to observe, that whatever Name these Principles be entitled to, their well-directed Power tends to the general Happiness of Man, their Absence to Disorder and Misery.

ON the Subject of *religious Principle*, the Author observed, that “ to suppose a
“ Man of Fashion swayed in his Conduct
“ by a Regard to Futurity, is an Affront

“ to

SECT. “ to the Delicacy and Refinement of his

XII. “ *Taste* *.” As *Taste* hath now generally

supplanted *religious Principle*, we have the best Evidence in the World of their comparative Excellence and Effects, in appealing to the comparative Strength and Stability of the public State, in *past* and *present* Times.

“ HENCE, the Day set apart by the Laws
 “ of his Country for religious Service, he
 “ derides and affronts as a vulgar and obse-
 “ lete Institution †.” The general Effects of this insolent Abuse are bad enough, even on the Manners of those of the highest Rank and Quality : Nay indeed, the higher their Rank, the worse its Effects ; as the Contagion of the ill Example spreads wider, and strikes deeper. Its immediate and particular ill Effect on the Manners and Principles of *Servants* in great Families, is still more dreadful. There is not

* Vol. I. p. 54.

† Ibid.

perhaps, generally speaking, a more grace-
less and abandoned Crew upon Earth,
than the Servants in the Houses of the mo-
dern Great. They commonly have the

SECT.
XII.

Vices of their *Masters*, without the Sense of
Decency to curb or disguise them. And tho',
among the higher Ranks, a Regard to *De-*
cency will sometimes secure the *Appearances*
of *Virtue*, where the *Reality* exists not; yet,
among the *lower* Departments of a Family,
'tis certain, that nothing but a Sense of Re-
ligion can secure either the *Reality* or the
Appearance. How different a Scene does
almost every modern great Family afford,
from those of the ancient Nobles of our
Country, where the *Master* was the *Father*,
Instructor, and *Friend* of his Servants, and
had a generous Regard to their Morals, Prin-
ciples, and real Welfare? I need hardly tell
the World, that they are now generally left
to the Workings of unbridled Passions,
heightened by Idleness, high Living, and dis-
solute Example. What can be the Result of

S E C T. this Madness, but Profligacy, in its Excess?

XII. Or what can come forth from such Scenes of
 unprincipled Licentiousness, but Pick-pock-
 ets, Prostitutes, Thieves, Highwaymen, and
 Murderers! These are your Triumphs,
 O BOLINGBROKE, TINDAL, MANDE-
 VILLE, MORGAN, HUME!

“ A certain *Historian* of our own
 “ Times, bent upon *Popularity* and *Gain*,
 “ published a large Volume, and omitted
 “ no Opportunity that offered to dis-
 “ grace Religion, &c.” This Anecdote
 is so curious, and characteristic of the Wri-
 ter alluded to, that it is fit the World
 should know it more particularly. When
 this Gentleman found that his History,
 though larded with Irreligion, did not sell
 among the *licentious*; and that the *serious*
 were shocked at his Treatment of Reli-
 gion, and on that Account were not Pur-
 chasers; he ordered his Agent (but too
 late) to expunge the exceptionable Pas-
 sages;

sages ; assigning for the Reason of his SECT.
 avoiding every Thing of this Kind in his XII.
 second Volume, “ that he would not of-
 “ *fend the Godly.*” Now this very Man,
 in Defiance of all Decency, hath for se-
 veral Years carried on a Trade of Essay-
 writing ; in the Course of which he hath
 not only misrepresented, abused, and in-
 sulted the most essential Principles of *Chri-*
stianity, but, to the utmost of his Power,
 shaken the Foundations of all *Religion*.
 In these sorry Essays, he had no Fear of
offending the Godly, because he knew the
Godly were not to be his *Buyers* : But when
 he finds that his History must *sell* among
 the *Godly*, or *not sell* at all ; *then* comes the
 Panic upon him ; *then*, forsooth, he will
 not *offend the Godly*. Here, therefore, a
Character is clearly developed. With St.
 PAUL, *Godliness* was *Gain* : But with *this*
 Man, *Gain* produceth *Godliness*.

As this was an Offence against the Pub-
 lic, 'tis fit the Public should know it. Our
 VOL. II. G free

SECT. free and happy Constitution admits not of
 XII. condign Punishment for the most profligate
 Crimes of this Kind: The Reason is, not
 that such Men *deserve not* Punishment, but
 that their Punishment would destroy Free-
 dom. *Just Disgrace*, therefore, is the pro-
 per Reward of those, who thus vilely destroy
 the *Consolation* of the *Afflicted*, the *Hopes* of
 the *Good*, and the *Fears* of the *Wicked*.

NEXT to the *Writers* of such Books as
 tend to overturn the fundamental Principles
 of Religion, their *Publishers* deserve surely
 to be ranked among the modern Pests of
 Society. They are at least as bad as an
Apothecary, who should sell *Arsenic* with
 an Intent to *kill*. Every Man who is so
 abandoned as to deal in this pernicious
 Trade, ought in common Justice to give
 fair Notice of it to his Fellow Citizens,
 and write over his Door,

*And if a Man have need of Poison now,
 Here lives a Caitiff Wretch, will sell it him*.*

* *Romeo.*

Hear

HEAR the wise and sagacious MACHI-
VEL; a Writer never charged with any
Tincture of Superstition. “Among all
“excellent and illustrious Men, they are
“most praise-worthy, who have been the
“chief Establishers of Religion and di-
“vine Worship: In the second Place, are
“they, who have laid the Foundations of
“a Kingdom or Commonwealth.—On
“the other Side, they are infamous and
“detestable, who are Contemners of Re-
“ligion, and Subverters of Government*.”
What then, are we to think of a Herd
of dull Scribblers and their Admirers in
our own Country, who during the last
fifty Years have passed, with the fashiona-
ble World, for the *Oracles* and *Heroes* of
the Time?

LET the just Remark of a wise and good
Man, a Lover of Virtue and his Country,

* Disc. Pol. l. i. c. 10.

SECT. conclude this Part of our Subject. “ These

XII.

“ Men would pass for Wits in our Age, by
 “ saying Things, which DAVID tells us, the
 “ *Fool* said in *his* : And set up with bring-
 “ ing those Wares to Market, which (God
 “ knows) have been always in the World,
 “ though kept up in Corners ; because
 “ they used to mark their Owners, in for-
 “ mer Ages, with the Name of *Buffoons*,
 “ *Prophane*, or *Impudent* Men ; who de-
 “ ride all Form and Order, as well as
 “ Piety and Truth ; and, under the Notion
 “ of Fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the
 “ very Bonds of all Society*.”

“ THE Principle of *Honour* hath fared as
 ill among us, as that of Religion. “ A
 “ Man who should go out of the com-
 “ mon Road of Life in Pursuit of Glory,
 “ —would be stared or laughed at,—as
 “ an Idiot, who preferred *Shadows* to

* Preface to Sir *William Temple's* Works.

“ *Real-*

“ *Realities* *.” This was not *loosely* or SECT.
XII.
figuratively, but *strictly* and *literally* affirmed. “ Honour (saith a modern Writer)
“ is a *Chimera* without Truth or Being †.”
And again: “ So silly a Creature is Man,
“ that, intoxicated with the Fumes of
“ Vanity, he can feast on the Thoughts
“ of the Praises that shall be paid to his
“ Memory in future Ages †.” These
Maxims have now generally taken Root
among us: Thus *Honour* is despised and
neglected as a *Shadow*; *Wealth* sought af-
ter as the grand *Reality*.

Now let us candidly examine, on what
Foundation Honour is despised and neg-
lected as a *Shadow*. Every pleasing Im-
pression made on the Mind is equally a
Reality, whatever be its external Occasion.
The external Occasion is of no Conse-
quence to the Percipient, but as it affects
him with Pleasure: If it has that Effect,

* Vol. I. p. 59. † Fable of the Bees, Rem. R. ‡ Ibid.

SECT. it is of the same Import and Consequence,
XII. that is, in other Words, it is equally *real*,
whether it be a Heap of Gold present to the Eye, or the Applause of Men present to the Imagination. The Mind is *equally* affected, though by different Instruments. It is a Mistake therefore to say, that Honour is a *Chimera*, more than that Wealth is a *Chimera*, provided it affect the Mind with as much Pleasure.

BUT it will be urged, that Wealth furnisheth us with *solid* and *substantial* Pleasures, which the Possession of Honour cannot give. This, in that Extent in which it is affirmed, is no less a Mistake than the other. Mere Competence can furnish all that is desirable for its own Sake, in the Articles of Eating, Drinking, Cloathing, Lodging: Now, beyond these, most of the Pleasures which Wealth can furnish, are founded in Imagination. And among these, it is remarkable, we must
I have

have Recourse chiefly to a *Desire of Dis-* SECT.
tinction, that is, in other Words, to VA- XII.
 NITY, ere we can rouse the Mind to taste
 or desire additional Degrees of Wealth.
 Now, what is *Vanity*, but a *Chimera*, if
Honour be such? The Sense of Honour is
 the Desire of Applause, through Means
 whose End is public Happiness: Vanity is
 the Desire of Applause, through Means
 which are often, if not generally, destruc-
 tive of the public Happiness. Thus we
 see what the Public hath gained (and by
 what wretched Sophistry they have been
 misled) in despising *Honour* as a *Chimera*,
 and courting *Wealth* only as a *Reality*. The
 Consequence is, as the Writer observed,
 that “Wealth, Titles, Dress, Equipage,
 “Sagacity in Gaming or Wagers, splendid
 “Furniture and a Table, are the sole
 “Fountains from whence we desire to
 “draw Respect to ourselves, or Applause
 “from others. Thus the salutary Prin-
 “ciple of virtuous Honour is perverted,

SECT. “ and dwindled into unmanly and pernicious
 XII. “ cious Vanity *.”

The Author made no Scruple to declare, that he thought “ the Principle of
 “ *public Spirit*, or the Love of our Coun-
 “ try, is less felt among us, than even those
 “ of *Religion* and true *Honour* †.” This
 is easily accounted for, according to the
 natural Course of Things, of Causes and
 Effects. For the Principles of Religion
 and virtuous Honour, tho’ both of them
 salutary and excellent, yet they do not so
 totally disengage the Mind from the Views
 of Self-Love, as the Principle of pure and
 genuine Public Spirit. In Times, there-
 fore, when Selfishness forms the ruling
 Character of a People, that Principle which
 is at farthest Distance from Self-love, will
 soonest and most generally lose its Influ-
 ence. The Principle itself, therefore, being
 at Variance with the Character of the

* Vol. I. p. 61.

† Ibid. p. 62.

Times,

Times, and its best Supports, *Religion* and *Honour*, being weakened or perverted, what can prevent its total Annihilation? S E C T.
XII.

I KNOW there are a Set of *Dreamers*, who talk in their Sleep on the Fair and Beautiful, and will tell you, in Spite of Experience, that this Annihilation of public Spirit is impossible: because the Love of our Country, being naturally beautiful, is natural to the Mind of Man, and therefore cannot be extinguished. To me, I must confess, it seems far otherwise, from all that I have observed of human Nature: The Affections which are necessary to the *Being*, the *Increase*, and *Preservation* of the Species, are *universal*: Those which are only necessary to the *Well-being* or *Improvement* of the Species, seem to require both *Instruction* and *Habit*, to bring them to their just Perfection. Thus the Desire of the Sexes, and the parental Affection, rise universally of their own Accord: A more extended Bene-

SECT. Benevolence, and the Love of our Country are the Result of Culture and Habit.

XII.

Without these, the benevolent Affection grows weaker, in Proportion as its Object is farther removed from Self*. But enough, or perhaps too much, of speculative Disquisition.

“ OUR Affections (at present) seldom reach farther than our Relations, our Friends, or Individuals in Distress †.”

This, as the Author hath observed above, ‡ is the Reach and Character of modern *Humanity*. It may seem odd, that, while this so generally prevails, public Spirit

* There is a delicate Observation in one of the Letters of NINON DE L' ENCLOSE. Speaking of the Virtue of Women, she gives it as a Maxim of Caution to her Pupil, that there are Seasons when Passion is in Danger of being too strong for Virtue; for, says she, “ Our Passions are, as it were, a Part of our *solid Substance*; whereas our Virtue is only *inlaid*.” The Original is more elegant: “ N'est qu' une Piece de Rapport.”

† Vol. I. p. 64. ‡ See Page 39. of this Volume.
should

should be so totally quenched. Yet this SECT.
Appearance is easily accounted for. When XII.
the Humanity of a People is founded in
Principle of any Kind, it naturally riseth
into public Spirit. But where Humanity
hath its chief Foundation in *effeminate*
Manners, as at present, *there* it amounts
to no more than *temporary* Starts of *Pity*,
according as Objects of Distress occasio-
nally present themselves. Enlarged Views
of Benevolence are quite beyond the Reach
of such a People: And hence, this Spe-
cies of *Humanity*, and a total *Defect* of
public Spirit, are not only *compatible*, but
naturally *connected*.

IN Confirmation of this, it is remark-
able, that *Ferocity* was the Character of
the ROMAN People, when their public
Spirit was in its meridian Splendor. *Their*
private Connexions and Regards gave
Way to the Welfare of their Country,
in as remarkable a Degree, as our
Atten-



SECT. XII. Attention to the Welfare of our Country gives Way to private Connexions and Regards. *Here*, whenever the private Interest of any Individual clashes with the public Safety, Parties are formed in favour or disfavour of the Individual, not according to the Merits of the Cause, but their Likings or Dislikings of, their Attachments to, their Interests with, their Expectations from, the Man. How contrary to this, the great ROMAN Spirit was, in the Period of public Virtue, let the following Instance stand for Proof.

MANLIUS, surnamed CAPITOLINUS, from the particular Service he had done his Country, was the most renowned and beloved Person of his Age. In Emulation of CAMILLUS, whom the ROMANS had advanced to a higher Degree of Honour, he attempted to destroy the Liberties of *Rome*. He was detected, and seized. Then it was, that the great Roman

man Spirit shone out in its Lustre. He SECT.
was at once forsaken by all who had XII.
so late adored him. The whole Body of
the Nobility, the Tribunes, and the Peo-
ple laid aside their Enmities, and united in
the just Design of punishing his Guilt.
His nearest Friends and Relations sympa-
thized with the Public; and refused him
the wonted Consolation of appearing in
Mourning at his Trial. He had saved his
Country; yet all his Virtues could not
save *him*, when he meditated the Destruc-
tion of his Country. He was tried, con-
demned, and suffered Death.

But what is the State of that Nation,
THIS, perhaps, is the strongest Instance
upon Record, of the Triumph of public
Spirit over private Humanity.

IT might now, in Conclusion, be no
incurious Search, to enquire into the com-
parative Force and Effects of these three
Principles, of Religion, Honour, and pub-
lic

SECT. lic Spirit. But in a Work of this Kind,
XII. every Branch of every Subject cannot be
particularly examined. Perhaps, in brief,
their essential Effects may thus be truly separated and distinguished. *Honour* will prevent *small* Crimes, and produce *great* Actions: *Religion* will prevent *great* Crimes, and produce *good* Actions: The *Love* of our *Country*, as it seldom riseth unless when built on Honour and Religion, hath commonly the Force of the other two united; will prevent Crimes *great* and *small*, will produce Actions *great* and *good*.

But what is the State of that Nation, in which the first of these is generally perverted among the Great, the second derided, and the third extinguished?

WHAT the Effects are, we are now more particularly to consider.

The END of the FIRST PART.



PART II.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS
ON THE
PUBLIC EFFECTS
OF THESE
MANNERS
AND
PRINCIPLES.



REVEREND
PART II
ADDITIONAL REMARKS
ON THE
PUBLIC EFFECTS
OF THE
MANNERS
AND
PRINCIPLES
OF



PART II.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

ON

The PUBLIC EFFECTS of these
Manners and Principles.

SECT. I.

Farther Remarks on the National Capacity.

WITH Regard to the *political* SECT.
Leaders of the People, in every I.
Department, this Subject may seem to have
been sufficiently exhausted, and perhaps
too freely treated, in the first Volume.
However, a few additional Observations
naturally offer themselves.

“ BUT if in any Nation (suppose our
“ own) the Number of these superior
VOL. II. H Minds

S E C T. “ Minds be daily decreafing from the grow-
 I. “ ing Manners of the Times; what can a
 — “ Nation, fo circumftanced, have more to
 “ fear, than that, in another Age, a gene-
 “ ral Cloud of Ignorance may overfhadow
 “ it * ?”

THE Circumftances, that feem to threaten this Cataftrophe, are, Firft, The general Ignorance of the great World. Secondly, Their Contempt and Ridicule of Letters. Thirdly, Their Neglect of Men of Genius and Learning.

THE general Ignorance of the great World (tho’ there be a few Exceptions) is no Secret to the *reft* of Mankind, whatever it be to *themselves*: and therefore the Writer cannot be faid to *divulge* it. If any of thefe high Perfonages doubt the Fact, the Circumftances enumerated in the firft Volume may give them all reasonable Satisfaction †.

* Vol. I. p. 78. † Vol. I. from page 74, to p. 78.

AND if a Writer, so far below their SECT.
honourable Regard, may presume to point I.
out those Paths of Learning and Know-
ledge, which they might tread with Cre-
dit to themselves, and Use to their Coun-
try ; I will adventure to lead them into this
salutary Track ; not on my own weak
Authority ; but on that of Facts, and the
unshaken Experience of Ages.

LET it therefore be remembered here,
that the *Permanency* or *Duration* of the
State, is the main Object of these Essays.
And as it is most evident, that the Cha-
racter and Conduct of the Great, is the
Circumstance on which this *Duration* na-
turally depends ; so if we can fix the lead-
ing Character and Conduct of the *Great*,
in that State, which hath been remarkably
and eminently of the longest Duration ; it
follows, that *such* a leading Character and
Conduct ought, above all others, to be the
Object of Imitation among those of high

SECT. Rank in our own Country ; especially, if
I. the Effects of such a leading Character and
Conduct on the Duration of a State, can
be pointed out and traced.

Now, so it happens, that the State which hath been eminently of the longest *Duration*, is that wherein *Knowledge* and *Learning* has, through all the *Records* of Time, been the *leading Character* of the GREAT.

“ THE Nation of CHINA may be distinguished into *learned* and *illiterate*. The last makes up the Body, or Mass, of the People : The first comprehends all that govern ; for no other than the *Learned* are ever employed in the Government.

“ BUT to comprehend what this Government of CHINA is, and what the Persons employed in it, there will be a Necessity of knowing what their Learning is, and
“ how

“ how it makes them fit for Government ; S E C T.
“ very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is I.
“ observed to do* ; and the Reason of
“ such different Effects from (seemingly)
“ the same Cause.

“ THEIR Learning is contained in the
“ Writings of the great and renowned
“ CONFUCIUS. The Sum of his Writings
“ seems to be a Body or Digestion of Ethics ;
“ that is, of all moral Virtues, either per-
“ sonal, œconomical, civil or political ;
“ and framed for the Institution and Con-
“ duct of Mens Lives, their Families,
“ and their Governments, but chiefly of
“ the last. That the Means to this End is
“ chiefly, not to will or desire any thing
“ that is not agreeable to the Good and
“ Happiness of other Men, as well as our
“ own.—In short, the whole Scope of all
“ CONFUCIUS has writ, seems aimed only

* See p. 37. of this Volume.

SECT. " at teaching Men to live well, and to go-
 I. " vern well : How Parents, Masters, and
 " Magistrates should rule ; and how Chil-
 " dren, Servants, and Subjects, should
 " obey.

" THIS is the Learning of the CHI-
 " NESES ; and all other Sorts are either
 " *disused*, or *ignoble* among them.

" ALL their Councils and all their Ma-
 " gistracies are composed of Men, emi-
 " nent in this useful Knowledge. From
 " these are chosen all their *Chief-Officers*
 " and *Mandarines*, both civil and military :
 " their Learning and Virtue make them
 " esteemed more able for the Execution
 " and Discharge of all public Employ-
 " ments, than Practice and Experience
 " in most other Countries : and when
 " they come into Armies, they are found
 " braver and more generous in exposing
 " their Lives upon all great Occasions,
 " than

“than the boldest Soldiers of their S E C T.
“Troops *.” I.

CAN we be surprized, if a State, whose Leaders are thus severely formed from their Infancy, to political and virtuous Knowledge, should stand unmoved, the unshaken Wonder of passing Ages ; while other Commonwealths are born and die, ere a Comet can revolve round the Sun ?

Or could we reasonably be surprized, if a State which hath continued firm and unmoved thro’ such a Series of Ages, while supported by such Manners and Principles in its leading People, should in the Course of a few Years seem to *totter*, when these Manners and Principles, founded in a virtuous and learned Education, give Way to the private Avarice, Ambition, and selfish Passions of its Leaders ?

’Tis true, a justly admired Writer ascribes this Permanency to a different Cause ;

* Sir *W. Temple*, on Heroic Virtue.

SECT. " The strict Complication of Parts in this
 I. " immense political Structure : so that no
 " single Part can be shaken or removed,
 " without overturning the whole ; which
 " is a Weight too great for any earthly
 " Power to move *." 'Tis with Reluct-
 ance the Writer differs from one he so
 much admires. But here, tho' the Fact
 he affirms be true, he hath fallen short of
 the *original* Cause. 'Tis true, that the
 Complication he speaks of, is the *imme-*
diate Cause of the Permanency of the
 State : But the *peculiar Character, Know-*
ledge, and Virtue, of the leading Members of
 the State, is the great, universal, and power-
 ful *Cement*, which runs thro' the whole
 Mass, and alone maintains this strict Com-
 plication ; which, without this *uniting*
Power, will of itself dissolve ; and the
 Structure, like that of other States, grow
 old, and by its own Weight fall to Pieces.
 But more of this in another Work †.

* L'Esprit des Loix. † See the Advertisement
 prefixed to Vol. I.

THE

THE second Circumstance that threatens S E C T.
us with a general Overflow of Ignorance, I.
is the Contempt and Ridicule of Learning
among the Great. Even the Ridicule of
Pedantry was, in the last Century, regard-
ed as a Symptom fatal to Letters. “ The
“ last Maim given to Learning, has been by
“ the Scorn of Pedantry ; which the shal-
“ low, the superficial, and the sufficient
“ among Scholars first drew upon them-
“ selves, and very justly, by pretending
“ to more than they had, or to more Ef-
“ teem than what they could deserve ; by
“ broaching it (Learning) in all Places, at
“ all Times, upon all Occasions ; and by
“ living so much among themselves, or in
“ their Closets and Cells, as to make them
“ unfit for all other Business, and ridicu-
“ lous in all other Conversations *.” What
Consequences, then, may we not expect
and fear, when not Pedantry, but Know-

* *Sir William Temple*, Vol. I. p. 169.

SECT. ledge and Learning, is the common Object
I. of Contempt among the Great? Or rather,
when all Knowledge and Learning, except in Gaming, Wagers, good Eating, Burrough-Jobbing, and Intrigue, is ridiculed under the Name and *Masque* of *Pedantry*?

THE third Circumstance is, the general Neglect of Men of Genius and Learning. It must be confessed, these do not abound: How should they, at a Time, when literary Patronage and Encouragement is so generally extinguished? For it is but a few disinterested and daring Spirits, in any Age, that will devote themselves to the Labours of Contemplation, when Neglect is the known Reward; or prefer the unfrequented and generous Path of Freedom and Competence, to the wide and easy Road of Servility and Wealth. 'Tis true, there are not wanting Instances of the most respectable Generosity in the Patronage of
Letters :

Letters : The more such Characters ought to be, and will be revered, as departing from the common Degeneracy of their Time and Country. But the general Character of the Age is quite the Reverse of this ; and implies a general Want of Capacity in the higher Ranks ; because all Men of Knowledge and Letters, love Men of Knowledge and Letters ; as all Men of Ignorance despise or hate them. In Proof of this we need only appeal to the present State of our own Country ; where the remaining FEW, who regard and promote Genius, Knowledge, Taste, and Learning, are themselves conspicuous in these fine Qualities.

So much with Respect to the *Capacity* of our civil and political Leaders : With Regard to that of the *Military*, the Writer observed, that “ would these Gentlemen please to “ look into History, they would find, that
in

SECT. " in *polished* Times, few have ever distin-
 I. " guished themselves in War, who were
 " not eminent or considerable in *Letters*.
 " They would find PISISTRATUS, PERI-
 " CLES, ALCIBIADES, DION, AGESI-
 " LAUS, EPAMINONDAS, among the
 " *Greeks*: In the *Roman* List, both the
 " SCIPIO's, CATO the elder and the
 " younger, LUCULLUS, POMPEY, BRU-
 " TUS, CÆSAR, distinguished in *Letters*
 " as in War*." Turn your Eyes, *Bri-*
tons, from your own fallen and wretched
 Country; turn them to the *Continent*, and
 behold even this illustrious List eclipsed by
 the unexampled Genius, Magnanimity,
 Constancy, and Valour, of ONE HERO:
 And give at least a sincere, though fruit-
 less Proof of your Gratitude to your De-
 liverer, and of your remaining Sense and
 Admiration of those Virtues you dare not
 imitate, in being the first to lead the Way

* Vol. I. p. 80.

to present Times and to Posterity, in styling SECT.
him “FREDERIC THE GREAT.” I.

THE third Order of Men, on whom, in the Writer's Opinion, the national Capacity depends, is that of the *Clergy*. And on this Subject he observed, that “when
“ the *English* Protestant Clergy, and that
“ Christianity which they teach, were
“ most honoured and respected at Home,
“ *England* was then most honoured and
“ respected abroad *.” It hath been asked, When was this? The Reply is obvious to any unprejudiced Mind. In the Reign of ELIZABETH; at the Abdication of JAMES the Second; in the honest and prosperous Days of ANN. I say the *honest* and *prosperous*; because she lived to see Days neither *honest* nor *prosperous*.

“ NOR can the worthy Part of them,
“ sure, aspire to truer Glory, than to

* Vol. I. p. 83, 84.

“ have

SECT. " have become the *Contempt* of *those*,

I. " who are become the *Contempt* of EU-

" ROPE *." A bigotted and tyrannical Clergy will be feared and idolized in a Country of Slavery and Superstition: A virtuous Clergy will be loved and revered in a Country of Freedom and Virtue: The virtuous among a Clergy will be despised or hated (according to their Rank) in a Country of Freedom and licentious Principles and Manners. The first is the Case in most *Papist* Countries; the second, in the *Protestant* SWISS Cantons; the third, in *modern* ENGLAND.

IT is not true, what hath been insinuated, that not the *Profession*, but the worthless *Professors* are despised. On the contrary, the worthless Professors are often caressed and promoted, because they fall in with the ruling Vices of the Great: While the worthy Part of the Order are

* Vol. I. p. 84.

often kept at Distance, because they scorn
to degrade themselves and their Profession
by a wicked and shameful Adulation.

SECT.

I.

“ BUT while I defend and honour the
“ Profession, I mean not to flatter the
“ Professors*.” The Truth is, the Clergy
are neither better nor worse than other
Men, but are naturally carried along in
the general Stream of Manners. And
hence, it must be owned and lamented,
that Religion cannot possibly have that
Influence in the luxurious and effeminate
Period, which it hath in simpler Times;
on Account of that ruling System of Man-
ners in which its Ministers will naturally
be involved.

WHEN it is said, “ they are neither bet-
“ ter nor worse than other Men,” it is
meant, “ so far as they are Men.” But in
every Period, every *Profession* hath its

* Vol. I. p. 84.

distinct

SECT. distinct *Character*; and *theirs* naturally
I. *exempts* them from *some Vices*, and perhaps
—— *exposes* them to *others*.

AT the same Time it must be confessed (or, if you please, it shall be maintained) that the Idea of a proper clerical Conduct is carried higher in *Speculation*, than human Nature will in Reality admit. The Laity seem to forget that the Clergy are Men of like Passions with themselves. From this Archetype of *ideal* Perfection, it comes to pass, that any *Ridicule* in this Order of Men is *doubly ridiculous*; any *Crime*, *doubly criminal*. Yet, with all their Defects and Frailties, the Writer is of Opinion, that, among the middle Ranks of this Profession, there is more Regard to Duty, more open and undefigning Hospitality, more unaffected Generosity, as well as Charity and Piety, than in any other Order of Men now in Being.

BUT

BUT with Regard to those who “con-
 “verse with what is called the *World*, and
 “are supposed to make a Part of it:”

SECT.

I.

These, the Writer still maintains, are *gene-
 rally* (not universally) given up, the youn-
 ger Part to Views of *Pleasure*; the elder,
 to Views of *Gain*.

AND the Completion of the Evil is,
 that these Characters stand in the Sunshine
 and Glare of Life, exposed to public Ob-
 servation and Scorn; while the Humble,
 the Pious, the Learned, the Virtuous, are
 lost to the unworthy and contemptuous
 World, in the Obscurity of a peaceful Re-
 treat.

THE Weekly Dabblers in Politics, it
 seems, (some of whom, the Writer is in-
 formed, now and then honour him and
 his Friends with their Abuse) are mighty
 Sticklers for having the *public Reform* be-
 gin

SECT. gin with that of the *Clergy*. And indeed,

I. what should seem more natural at first Sight, than that a Reformation should first prevail among that Body of Men, whose peculiar Province it is, to *reform others*? Yet this Project, plausible as it may appear, can never take Place, under our present Circumstance, except in the Brain of those who skim the Surface of political Speculation.

FOR, first, a Clergy cannot generally be reformed, till *they* are reformed who generally appoint them. Who appoint the Clergy? Are they not, the GREAT? Are they not those (I take things in the general Aspect) who are most infected with the Manners and Principles of the Times? Now, these will generally *appoint* such as they *approve* and *like*; and they will generally *approve* and *like* those Men, who are of *their own* Manners, Principles, and Character.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, the Reformation of a Cler- S E C T.
gy, at such a Period, would not bring on I.
a general Reformation, or cure the ruling
Evils of the Times. It might do addi-
tional Good among the *middle* and *lower*
Ranks, but not generally among the *higher*:
Because *there*, a Clergy, though reformed,
will always be *despised*, where Manners are
luxurious, and *religious* Principle *extinct*.

S E C T. II.

The Writer's Apology for himself.

“ IT is grown a fashionable Thing, S E C T.
“ among these Gentlemen (the Clergy) to II.
“ despise the Duties of their Parish *.”
This is too copious a Subject, to be here
treated of: And besides, is of too *particu-*
lar a Nature, to gain a Place in a Work
of this Kind, which treats not of Things

* Vol. I. p. 85.

SECT. in the *Detail*, but in their more general
II. Principles.

“ To wander about, as the various
 “ Seasons invite, to every Scene of false
 “ Gaiety*.” This Charge, it seems, hath
 been retorted with Vehemence upon the
 Writer himself. He understands, it is
 loudly objected to him, that *he* mixes in
 public Life, and with the fashionable
 World, as frequently as most of his Pro-
 fession; and, *at times*, is seen in Places of
 the most public Resort and Diffipation.

HE admits the Fact: And presents his
 Apology.

FIRST, Supposing all that is alledged
 or insinuated, to be true; he apprehends,
 the Conduct of his Life cannot affect or
 weaken the Reasoning of his Work.

SECONDLY, He hath Cause to believe,
 that they who thus accuse him, are such

* Vol. I. p. 85.

as themselves frequent those Scenes of SECT.
fashionable Folly. Now, let but these II.
Gentlemen as loudly and publicly declare
against the modern Spirit of Effeminacy
and Dissipation, as he hath done; and
then the World may possibly believe, that
he and they are *there* upon the *same Prin-*
ciple.

THIRDLY, He hath Reason to suspect,
that if he writ altogether from the Closet,
these Objectors would then assume ano-
ther Tone. They would say (and indeed
with good Reason)

Yes; we despise the Man to Books confin'd,
Who from his Study rails at all Mankind.
The Coxcomb Bird, so talkative and grave,
Who from his Cage cries Cuckold, Fool, and Knave;
Tho' many a Passenger he rightly call,
We hold him no Philosopher at all *.

LASTLY, Therefore, if he mixeth in
public Life, the candid World will judge

* Mr. Pope.

SECT. for what End he does it, not from the

II.

railing of angry Men, but from the *Tenor* of his *Writings*; the best Indications of his Mind and Character. There is an essential Distinction between those who *love* Dissipation, and those who *view*, in order to *expose* it. There is an essential Distinction between the *Provost* of an Army, who goes out on Duty, and the *Marauders*, whom he hangs upon the next Tree.

To conclude; every Man's Sphere of Observation and Experience should be, as far as possible, of the same Extent with the Objects of his Attention. The Painter, if he would give the Truth, must copy from Nature. The *retailing* Tradesman keeps to his Shop; the *private* Officer to his *Platoon*; the *Sailor* to his *Gun*: But the *Merchant*, the *General*, the *Admiral*, if they be wise, will take a *larger Tour* of Observation. The Writer neither
despises

despises nor *neglects* the Duties of his private Station: But as he hath taken upon him not only the Task of a *parochial*, but the more important and arduous one of a *national Preacher*, he hopes these Gentlemen will excuse him, if he goes a little out of the *common* Road, and endeavours to *understand* his Subject before he *talks* upon it. With their Leave therefore (nay, without their Leave) he will continue to visit the several Parts of his *larger* District; and intends not to content himself with a narrower Sphere of Remark, than that of his Majesty's Dominions.

S E C T. III.

Farther Remarks on the national Spirit of Defence.

“ THE national Spirit of Defence will
“ always be compounded of the national
“ bodily Strength, Hardiness, Courage,

SECT. “ and Principle.—The common People
 III. “ of this Nation seem possessed of the
 — “ three first of these four Qualities, in a
 “ Degree sufficient to form an effectual
 “ and national Spirit of Defence*.” Here
 the Writer left the Matter short: It may
 truly be affirmed, that the common People
 of this Kingdom are in little or no Dan-
 ger of being defective in these three Qua-
 lities: Their Climate, their Diet, their
 Way of Life, to which Necessity inures
 them, naturally form them strong, hardy,
 and courageous. The only Enemies they
 have to fear, are the Creatures of Luxury,
Gin and Tea.

“ THEY commonly have a proportion-
 “ ed Kind of Principle, which works it’s
 “ Effect in Battle †.” The Principle here
 spoken of, is that of Honour. But as to
 this, the Writer thinks it may be easily

* Vol. I. p. 87, 88.

† Ibid.

destroy-

destroyed: And will certainly be weakened as modern Maxims gain Ground among them. S E C T.
III.

S E C T. IV.

Of the different Genius and Permanency of Popery and Protestantism.

LET us now more particularly consider, S E C T.
IV.

how far the different Genius of the two religious Systems of Popery and Protestantism, may affect the national Spirit of Defence, and consequently the Duration of every State: A Subject but slightly touched on in the former Volume.

“ENTHUSIASTIC Religion leads to
“ Conquest; rational Religion leads to ra-
“ tional Defence; but the modern Spirit
“ of Irreligion leads to rascally and aban-
“ doned Cowardice*.”

* Vol. I. p. 90.

THIS

SECT. THIS is a Text, on which the Writer
IV. thinks it of particular Consequence to en-
large.

I. POPISH Superstition, as well as Fanaticism (of which indeed, in many Instances, Popish Superstition is a Species) is a more active Principle, with Regard to Conquest, than rational Protestantism. The first piques itself on destroying and extirpating the Enemies of God: The latter, regarding none as the Enemies of God on account of *Error*, aims only at rational Defence.

WHILE Protestantism, therefore, retains its proper *Influence* in the Minds of Men, it may be a Match for Popish Superstition. What it wants in *Fury*, it makes up in *Steadiness*. This Truth our Forefathers have *twice* seen manifested in our own Country.

BUT

BUT here lies the Danger: Mankind SECT.
 are apt to be either blindly *zealous*, or al- VI.
 together *cool* in Matters of *Religion*: The
 Reason is, because Mankind are generally
 led by their *Passions*, in Religion, as in
 other Things. Hence the peculiar Danger
 to Protestantism, arising from Popery. For
 Popery, in it's Nature tending to *inflame* a
Passion, lays hold of the ruling Weakness of
 Man: While Protestantism, working only
 on his nobler Part, his *Reason*, whose Dictates
 he but seldom regards, is apt to fall away
 into Neglect and Coldness. Thus we see,
 taking Man as he is, *Fury* is the natural
 Character of the one; *Indifference*, of the
 other.

2. BESIDES this, Popish Superstition
 obtains another Advantage over rational
 Protestantism, arising from *degenerate Man-*
ners. For Popery points out religious Fury
 and Persecution, as the best *Attonement*

SECT. for Vice or *Crimes*: Whereas Protestantism
IV. urgeth no Pretence of this Kind upon
it's Votaries; but, on the contrary, teaches them, that without Morals, Religion is *Mockery* of God. Thus we see, that even the *Vices* of a *Papist* tend to inspire him with *furious Zeal*: Whereas the *Vices* of a *Protestant* urge him, for the sake of a false Peace of Mind, to the Neglect, the designed *Forgetfulness* of all Religion.

THUS, though the persecuting Principle of the *Papist* doth not preserve the Purity of his Manners; yet even the Degeneracy of his Manners tends to preserve his Principle. This we see confirmed by the general State of Things in our own Country; in which, though the Roman Catholics are carried along in the common Stream of Manners, yet their Principles remain unshaken.

ON

ON the other hand, tho' the rational S E C T.
Principles of Protestantism tend to preserve IV.
the Purity of Manners ; yet, if a Degene-
racy of Manners comes on, it certainly
tends to destroy the Principle. This, too,
we see confirmed by the general State of
Things in our own Country ; where, as
Manners have degenerated, religious Prin-
ciple hath decayed.

3. ANOTHER Circumstance, which
tends to preserve and strengthen the blind
Zeal and intolerant Principles of Popery,
is, the tremendous Penalty annexed in the
Imagination to any Departure from them.
For as the Papist believes this Departure will
expose him to all the Effects of the divine
Displeasure ; so this Apprehension tends to
prevent the natural Excursions of Thought,
and chains down the Mind in intellectual
Darkness.

ON the contrary, the free Principle of
Protestantism, not working by *Terror*, en-
courage

SECT. courages the Mind to range abroad in
IV. Quest of Truth. No religious Apprehen-
— sion accompanies the Search : And hence,
tho' *Reason* will sometimes fix the Mind in
salutary religious Principle, *Passion* will of-
tener allure and misguide it into the plea-
surable Path of Unbelief.

4. ANOTHER Cause of the superior Per-
manency of Popery, ariseth naturally from
the last assigned. Where so much Merit
is supposed to be in one particular System
of Belief, and so much Demerit or Guilt
in any Departure from it, there, even the
benevolent Passions urge strongly to making
Profelytes. It is esteemed little less than
saving a Soul, to draw a Man over to the
Popish Faith. And, to give all Parties their
Due, this hath been often the mistaken
and fatal Motive to Persecutions, which
have been charged altogether upon unfeel-
ing Cruelty. Now the Genius of Pro-
testantism is essentially opposite to this.
As

As it is too just and generous to *compel*, so, S E C T.
as a natural Consequence, it is often too in- IV.
dolent, even to *persuade*.

5. A FIFTH Cause of the Permanency of Popish Principle, beyond that of Protestantism, was touched in general Terms in the first Volume. Popish Superstition arms itself with the Weapons of civil Power ; and, by checking the open and avowed *Profession*, checks in a certain Degree the Progress of Impiety. Whereas it must be acknowledged and lamented, as one of the unalterable Defects of a free Government, that Opinion must have its Course. The Disease is bad ; but the Cure would be fatal. Thus Freedom is compelled to admit an Enemy, who, under Pretence and Form of an Ally, often proves her Destroyer.

6. THE last Cause flows naturally, as a Consequence of these which have been assigned.

S E C T. signed. A religious Principle, which is
 IV. only overwhelmed by the Prevalence of
 Vice or Passion, but still lies dormant in
 the Heart, may be easily awakened and
 recalled into Action: But where the Prin-
 ciple is not *overwhelmed*, but *extinguished*
 by degenerate Manners, *there* it is seldom,
 if ever, restored to its former Influence.

Now the Popish Principle, when it
 seems to lose its Effect, is generally no
 more than overwhelmed by vicious Man-
 ners: The religious Belief being rooted in
 powerful Passions, remains in the Heart,
 and thro' any striking or alarming Incident,
 is again awakened into Action. Thus it
 manifestly operated, in an Instance re-
 corded by MACHIAVEL. “ The Roman
 “ Religion would doubtless have been lost
 “ before this, had it not been reduced to-
 “ wards its first Principle by St. FRANCIS
 “ and St. DOMINIC; who, by their Po-
 “ verty, and Christian-like Examples, re-
 “ vived

“ lived it in the Minds of Men, where it
“ was almost effaced ; and prevailed, that
“ the Looseness and Depravity of the Pre-
“ lates and Cardinals did not ruin it : For
“ Men, seeing them live in that Indigence
“ and Poverty, by confessing their Sins to
“ them, and hearing them preach, began
“ to learn Meekness, Charity, and Obe-
“ dience *.” In this Instance, we see,
the Principle was *overwhelmed*, but not *ex-*
tinguished.

BUT where the Principles of rational Protestantism are born down by opposite Manners, there the Power of these ruling Manners tends not only to overwhelm the Effects of the rational Principle, but to destroy the Principle itself. For Reason is easily betrayed or corrupted by Passion : and where rational Principle is not rooted in some opposite Passion of equal Strength

* Disc. Pol. l. iii. c. i.

SECT. with that which bears it down, as soon as
 IV. Reason is corrupted, the Principle is of
 ——— Course extinguished, and lost. The *pre-*
sent State of our own Country is a lamen-
 table Instance of this Truth.

NEED I point out the particular Ten-
 dency and End of these Reasonings? It is
 plainly this: That if we regard Man as
 that weak Creature which he always hath
 been, is, and will be; as a Creature often
 led by *Passion*, and seldom by *Reason*; there
 is manifestly an Inequality of Force in these
 two Species of Religion. Their GENIUS
 is essentially opposite: Protestantism calm-
 ly presents herself to the *Reason*, Popery
 seizes the *Passions* of Mankind: And
 hence, modern Popery set against modern
 Protestantism, is in Danger of overwhelm-
 ing it.

It

IT may be objected against this Argument, and is frequently maintained, that although the vulgar are led blindfold by Popish Superstition, yet Statesmen are not its Dupes, and therefore it is to be regarded as a mere Creature of the State, and subservient to the Views of Policy. In Reply to this, let it be considered, first, that although Statesmen are often Contemners of the Religion of their Country, yet they are not always so: Secondly, suppose them to be of this Turn, yet, in Popish Countries, the Princes are generally superstitious, and will therefore often sway the Councils of the State, where they have Spirit and Action. Thirdly, they are altogether unacquainted with the Foundations of Politics, who know not, that the Religion of every Country will always strike its ruling Colours deep into the Politics of the Country, in spite of all the

S E C T.

IV.

SECT. Statesmen in the World. And lastly, that

IV.

even where Superstition is made the Dupe of Ambition, and Schemes of Policy, even *there* it is the most powerful of all Engines in working up the Body of the People to carry into effectual Execution those very Schemes which perhaps were planned by *Atheism*. The Objection thereof is futile; and founded in a total Ignorance of true Politics and human Nature.

To convince the Protestant World, how much Reason there is at present for a general Watchfulness and Union in this Regard, let us confirm what hath been here said on the different Genius of the two Religions, by a short View of the present State of BRITAIN, AMERICA, and the EUROPEAN Continent.

WITH Regard to our own Country, the Principles of Protestantism have lost their

their Influence: Infomuch, that it is no SECT.
IV.
Injustice to the higher Ranks of this King-

dom to say, that the main Security of the Church ariseth from its Alliance with the State. There is now among the Great, such a general Indifference and Supineness in, not to say Contempt of, every Thing that regards Religion *only*, as may well alarm those few, who look forward to Posterity. How different a State of Religion is this, from that which prevailed in the Reign of ELIZABETH? When, as BOLINGBROOKE justly observes, “the Reformation was established, not only in outward Form, *but in the Hearts of Men* *.” How different from that which prevailed at the grand Period of the Abdication of JAMES the Second? When Protestant Principle took the Lead, even of the Spirit of *civil* Liberty; and

* Remarks on the History of England, Let. XVIII.

SECT. effected the most glorious Revolution that
IV. History hath yet recorded: A Revolution,
which might justly be styled *religious* rather than *political*. That great religious Spirit, which at these illustrious Periods shone so bright, is now quenched in Darkness; and the World beholds the Consequence.

ON the other Hand, the Zeal of Popery, in this Kingdom, is active, is indefatigable. It's very State of Separation tends naturally to this Effect. The Reasons assigned above, arising from its particular Genius, maintain its Influence. The Priests are assiduous, from Principle, in making Profelytes, and in urging their Party to make them. There is, at present, a Gentleman in the West of *England*, who openly gives five Pounds to every Person who becomes a Profelyte to the Roman Church; and the additional
Bribe

Bribe of a *Sunday's* Dinner, for every such Person that attends Mass. Allurements of

SECT.

IV.

the same Kind are known to prevail in most Parts of the Kingdom, and among those of the highest Rank, though not so openly declared. The Papists *seem* to *approve* our Lenity, in thus supinely letting the Laws sleep: In the mean Time their Numbers increase. But can a Nation use its Eyes, and not see, that they must secretly deride our Folly? Especially when we reflect farther, that they have at their Head, a Pretender to his Majesty's Throne and Kingdoms, who regards the Inhabitants of this Nation, not as his *Subjects*, but his *Cattle*. Who doth not see, that by this blind Neglect, or, if you please, this mistaken Lenity, (which by the Way ariseth not from our *Generosity*, but our *Contempt* of *Religion* and the *public Welfare*) we are treasuring up a hidden and dreadful Mine, which, on the first Occa-

SECT. fion given, will blow up our Constitution
IV. both in Church and State?

THE Writer hath no personal Pique to the Gentlemen of the Popish Faith: On the contrary, he knows many of them to be, in private Life, of *amiable* and *respectable* Characters. He is far from presuming to deny even the *Merit* of their *Intentions* in a *religious* Regard: For there is no Doubt, but good Intentions may exist in every religious Sect. He hopes therefore, they will put the same charitable Construction on *his* Intentions, while he lays open the Genius and Tendencies of their System of Belief. He is far from meaning to revive sanguinary Laws: Yet these Gentlemen must excuse him, if, knowing the *ruling* Principles of their Church, he freely explains and urges the Dangers that threaten his Country.

WITH

WITH REGARD to the State of Popery SECT.
and Protestantism on the Continent of IV.
AMERICA ; this is no less discouraging to
the true Protestant. The different Genius
of the two Systems operates with the same
Universality and Power. The Papists are
zealous, watchful, and assiduous ; the
Protestants are cold, indifferent, and neg-
lectful. The SPANIARDS, in Course of
Time, will have converted one half of
the vast *Southern* Continent, and murdered
the other. The FRENCH join Policy to
Zeal ; or rather, make Zeal subservient to
Policy. They reason, they persuade, they
cajole, they terrify the poor INDIAN Na-
tions ; and by every Means of Truth, or
Falsehood, draw them over to their Party.
The Conduct of the ENGLISH is the Re-
verse of all this. Doubtless many of our
Missionaries are worthy Men : But it must
be acknowledged, as the natural Effect
and *Defect* of the *Protestant* System, that
they

SECT. they are not generally *impelled* by Zeal,
IV. but *compelled* by *Necessity*, to visit these re-
mote and *inhospitable* Regions. In the
mean Time, the Inhabitants of our Co-
lonies are, like ourselves, given up to Views
of Gain and Pleasure; The State of
Religion is totally disregarded; its Dictates
and Principles derided and thrown off.
Thus *Popery* advances with dreadful
Strides, while *Protestantism* lies immerfed
in Indolence and Sleep.

LET us next confider the State of the
two Religious Systems on the *Continent*.

IN the UNITED PROVINCES, we fhall
fee their contrary Genius exerting itself,
as if the Pourtrait here given of each had
been drawn from hence. “ There are
“ very great Numbers of *Roman Catholics*
“ in the *United Provinces*; notwithstand-
“ ing their Religion, as Sir WILLIAM
“ TEMPLE

“ TEMPLE observes, is not immediately SECT.
“ protected by the Laws of the Republic. IV.
“ The same Author has assigned the
“ Reason of this; which is, that the
“ States believe the Roman Catholic Re-
“ ligion must make Men bad Subjects,
“ while it teaches them to acknowledge
“ a foreign Power superior to that under
“ which they live: And accordingly they
“ have made several penal Laws to pre-
“ vent the Growth of it. But as each
“ Province hath reserved to herself the
“ Liberty of regulating Religion within
“ her own Jurisdiction, these penal Laws
“ of the States General have never been
“ put in Execution. In HOLLAND espe-
“ cially neither PRUDENCE nor POLICY
“ would permit them to exclude so large
“ a Body as the Roman Catholics out of
“ the general Toleration: And accord-
“ ingly they are very numerous in the
“ great Towns of that Province, where
“ the

SECT. " the Magistrates give them an equal Pro-
IV. " tection with other Dissenters. At AM-
" STERDAM, they have not fewer than
" twenty-four Chapels. There are great
" Numbers of the same Communion in
" ROTTERDAM, and several other Cities:
" But they are most numerous in the
" Villages: Infomuch that a Miller,
" Smith, or any other Mechanic, being
" a Protestant, is sure to be a Beggar if
" he settles in the Country; for the
" Priests never fail to enjoin their whole
" Communion to neglect him. This per-
" haps may seem strange to the *English*
" Reader, who considers HOLLAND as
" a reformed Country, and a principal
" Bulwark of the Protestant Religion:
" But I speak upon good Grounds; and,
" amongst many Proofs which I might
" bring, of the Truth of what I advance,
" I chuse to instance the Remonstrance
" made to the States General in 1725,
3 by

“ by the Deputies of the General Synod, SECT.
“ who represented the Growth of Popery IV.
“ in the most pathetic Terms; and
“ affirmed, that since the Year 1650, the
“ Number of Roman Catholics in the
“ seven Provinces was increased *three*
“ *hundred and fifty thousand*; of which
“ they had authentic Proofs *.”

THUS the Love of *Gain* hath worked
as powerfully towards the Increase of Po-
pery in HOLLAND, as the Love of *Plea-*
sure and *Dissipation* hath done in ENG-
LAND: Conformable to the Principles laid
down in the first Volume †.

WITH Respect to the rest of EUROPE;
its present State tends to prove strongly the
general Truths here advanced. We see
the Protestant Crowns divided against each

* Batavia Illustrata. By O. Burriſh, Eſq; p. 147, 148.

† Vol. I. p. 163, &c.

other ;

SECT. other; the Popish Crowns in Union and
IV. Confederacy. The RUSS and SWED
 have joined the *Popish* Power in tearing
 to Pieces his Majesty of PRUSSIA. The
 EMPRESS QUEEN hath at length thrown
 off the Masque; hath basely deserted those
 who had long and often saved her from
 Destruction; and given a striking Proof
 of this great Truth, That where Pride and
 Bigotry rule the Heart, *there* human Vir-
 tues find no easy Entrance. FRANCE is
 playing its old Game, and pursuing its
 established Plan of Power.

THUS the active and zealous Popish
 Principle is every where working its Way;
 while the Coldness of Protestantism leaves
 the Issue of Things to the calm and ineffec-
 tual Deliberation of civil Policy; forget-
 ting that *Passion* is the *Soul* of *Action*, and
 the great *Spur* that hath ever urged Man-
 kind to all that is *Good* or *Wicked*.

IF we consider the different Genius of these two Systems, as described above, we cannot wonder at this Difference of Conduct: and to evince, that it is not the Result from Chance, but from established Causes, we shall see the same Spirit working in each, in former Ages. BOLINGBROKE (who was a great *Historian*, tho' but a poor *Reasoner*; and saw Facts in their apparent Connexions, rather than in their *interior* Causes) hath given us the actual State of *Europe* in the Days of JAMES the First; which bears so strong a Resemblance to our own, in Regard to the Genius of the two Religions, that it cannot be thought incurious. “ On the one Side, “ the whole *Popish* Interest, in the Empire, was *closely united*; and the Cause “ of FERDINAND was the common Cause “ of the Party. The *Popish* Interest, out “ of the Empire, conspired in the same “ Cause

SECT. " Cause. The King of POLAND assisted

IV.

" the Emperor in HUNGARY. Troops
" from ITALY, and a great Army from
" the *Netherlands*, acted for him in GER-
" MANY.—Even FRANCE, who ought in
" good Policy to have opposed the House
" of AUSTRIA, was induced, by the *Bigo-*
" *try* of her Court, and perhaps by the
" private Interest of LUINES, to declare
" for the Emperor against the King of
" BOHEMIA. On the other Side, the *Pro-*
" *testant* Interest in the Empire was *far*
" *from* being *closely united*; and *farther*
" still from making the Cause of FRE-
" DERIC the common Cause of the Party.
" Even the Princes of the Union had dif-
" ferent Views : many of them leaned to
" the Emperor ; none of them could be
" entirely depended upon : And the Elec-
" tor of SAXONY, the most powerful of the
" Protestant Princes of the Empire, was
" so far from uniting with the others, that
" he

“ he was first privately, and afterwards
“ openly, but all along very steadily, on
“ the Side of FERDINAND. Out of the
“ Empire, some Assistance might have
“ been expected from the King of DEN-
“ MARK and the DUTCH : but even *their*
“ Accession must have been *purchased*, at
“ least it must have been made useful, at
“ the Expence of BRITAIN *.”

HAD the Writer collected these Facts from History, and drawn them thus to one central Point, it might justly have been suspected, that he had thrown a false Light upon them in the Recital, that they might better serve his Purpose : But when we consider this Paragraph as coming from an Author who was dead before the present Aspect of Things took Place, we cannot but acknowledge the permanent *Unifor-*

* Remarks on the Hist. of *England*, Let. XXII.

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L

mity

SECT. *mity of Principles, working the same Ef-*
 IV. *fects in the most distant Periods of Time.*

THE Event of this Popish League ought indeed to strike us with *Awe*, tho' not with *Despondency*. FREDERIC of BOHEMIA was swallowed up by the Confederacy : But though no human Eye can pierce the impenetrable Veil of Fate, yet we have Reason to hope from what is past, that the great Prince now combined against, is not designed by Providence as a Sacrifice to bigot Power : Let us rather behold him as the *appointed* guardian Angel of *Truth* and *Liberty*, who with the Swiftneſs of *Light*, and the Terror of a *Whirlwind*, cheers the Friends of *Freedom*, and overwhelms her *Enemies*.

THE manifest Inference is this : As it appears from these Reasonings that the Genius of Popery is active, insinuating, furious,

furious, unalterable, permanent; the Genius of Protestantism, calm, rational, indolent, fluctuating, perishable; that we ought to be most *watchful* in the Preservation of this invaluable Blessing; and active in the *Support* of those who are the great *Supports* of Protestantism.

SECT.

IV.

SECT V.

How far the Spirit of Duelling is connected with the manly Spirit of Defence.

“ CAN the Debility of modern Honour produce the manly Spirit of Defence? Alas, if ever it is put in Action by any Thing beyond the Vanity of Shew; it is roused by an Affront, and dies in a Duel *.”

SECT.

V.

BUT it seems the Opinion of many, that the Spirit of *Duelling*, and that of manly

* Vol. I. p. 90.

SECT. national *Defence* are naturally connected,
V. and of Course rise or fall together. Much
 might be said on this Subject ; at present I
 shall only mark the Difference of *Principle*,
 on which these two different Systems of
 Conduct are founded.

THE Principle of *Honour* depends on, and
 ariseth from, the *Love* of *Glory*, or the *Fear*
 of *Shame*. Where the Love of Glory is,
 the Dread of Shame comes of Course : But
 the Dread of Shame may exist without the
 Love of Glory ; a Truth which is con-
 firmed by Experience, in all *groveling* and
narrow Minds ; and in many that are *Good*
 too, but not *elevated*.

ON this Distinction is founded the essen-
 tial Difference between a national Spirit of
 Defence, and the private Habit of Duel-
 ling. The national Spirit of *Defence*, so
 far as it depends on the Principle of *Ho-*
 2 *nour,*

nour, can only be kept up by the *Love* of SECT.
Glory. The mere *Dread* of *Shame* cannot V.
raise this general Passion in a *People*, be-
cause, among a *People* who have lost the
national Spirit of Defence, there is *no*
Shame attending the *Loss* of it.

BUT private Duelling arising from the
Sense of private Injury, is naturally pro-
duced by the Fear of *Shame only*. *Glory*
is seldom thought of in this Instance : and
where it is, produces the hateful Character
of a *Bully*. It is the *Fear* of *Shame* there-
fore, and not the *Love* of *Glory*, that sup-
ports the Spirit of *Duelling*.

THUS we see, the Principle of Ho-
nour works by two different Passions in
producing a Nation of *Duellists*, and a
Nation of *Heroes*. The first are only com-
pelled by the Fear of *Shame* ; the latter are
actuated by the *Love* of *Glory*. And thus

SECT. V. the national Spirit of *Defence* may be *strong*,
 when that of *Duelling* is *extinct* ; and the
 Spirit of *Duelling* may *exist*, when that of
 military *Honour* is *extinguished*.

SECT. VI.

*A remarkable Consequence arising from this
 Difference of Principle.*

SECT. VI. THESE Truths relate to Nations ; and
 the Character of a People. But with Re-
 gard to *Fleets* and *Armies*, another Truth
 offers itself to Observation. Here, “ The
 “ Love of *Glory* is necessary in the *Leaders*,
 “ as a Motive to great and daring *Enter-
 “ prize* : But among the inferior Ranks,
 “ the Fear of *Shame* will be generally of
 “ Influence sufficient to compel them to
 “ their *Duty*.” The Reason is evident :
 With Regard to the Leaders, as it is im-
 possible

possible to point out to them their particular Track of Duty in every Instance, so their Conduct must be left in general, to the Determinations of their own Mind; *Great Actions* will naturally be attended with *Glory*; but the mere *Omission* of great Actions, where peremptory Orders are not given, is not necessarily attended with *Shame*: Therefore it is the *Love of Glory* only, that can urge a *Leader* to *great and dangerous Attempts*.

BUT with Regard to the *inferior Ranks*; *there* the particular Track of Duty is pointed out; which is only this, “Obey the Commands of your Leader.” Under this Circumstance, no Evasion can take Place: Every Man must obey, or Infamy overtakes him: And thus the Fear of Shame becomes sufficient.

SECT. VI. THIS Distinction will clearly account
for that strange Difference of Conduct
in our *British* Troops, during the last,
as well as the present War. It hath been
remarked, that at Times they have fought
like *Lions*; at others, have been timorous
as *Hares*. Their Bravery, in particular In-
stances, hath been brought as a Proof
against the Existence of the ruling Prin-
ciple of *Effeminacy*, which runs through
this Work. But whoever views this
Matter, according to the Distinctions here
pointed out, will at once see the Veil
drawn off from this mysterious Appea-
rance of Things. Where did our Troops
distinguish themselves in Valour? Was it
not at DETTINGHEN? at LA FELDT? and
above all, on the dreadful Field of FON-
TENOT, where honest *Fame* forsook the
Standard of the *Victor*, and *wept* over the
Banners of the retreating ENGLISH? And
who

who were the *Leaders* on these important S E C T.
Days? They were such as were *inspired* and VI.
actuated by the generous *Love* of GLORY.

S E C T. VII.

Of a national Militia.

“ WILL not Cowardice, at least as S E C T.
“ soon as Courage, part with a Shilling or VII.
“ a Pound, to avoid Danger? The capi-
“ tal Question therefore still remains; not
“ who shall *pay*, but who shall *fight* *.”

A CAPITAL Question, this, indeed;
and hard to be resolved among a *mercan-*
tile and *effeminate* People. This naturally
leads us to consider what may be expected,
feared, or hoped, from the Establishment
of a national *Militia*. In which Enquiry,
the Writer's sole Intention is, to pursue

* Vol. I. p. 80.

SECT. his leading Principles through all their
VII. Consequences; without any Intention of
contradicting or offending any Party what-
ever.

FIRST, An *English* Militia cannot be so
dangerous now, as in former Times; be-
cause the *Commons* are discharged from
those slavish military Tenures, which so
often brought them into the Field, to
butcher each other in former Days, at the
Command of a *seditious* or *revengeful* Lord.
HENRY the Seventh, through his Hatred
to the Nobility, let in this first Dawn of
lasting Liberty on the Inhabitants of this
Kingdom. The People, though armed,
would now want Leaders of Influence, to
unite them in Seditious Purposes. There-
fore the sudden and short-lived Fury of a
Mob, is the worst that can be feared from
this Establishment. 'Tis true, an armed
Mob is a dreadful Monster to the *Indivi-*
dual,

dual, but cannot rise into *public* or *treason-* SECT.
able Attempts, through want of a uniting VII.
Power.

HENCE, LIVY's fine Description of a
" Mob : " Ex ferocibus universis, singu-
" li metu suo obedientes."

SECONDLY, The *effeminate* Manners of
the Times take away the great *Danger*
which formerly arose from a free Militia in
more warlike Periods.

BUT then, on the other Hand, these
same Reasons that take away the *Danger*,
are fair to destroy the *Usefulness* of a Mili-
tia. For we see, their *Danger* arose from
their *Union* and their *Valour* : Now, what
is a Militia without these two Qualities?

A *Legal Union* indeed may be acquir-
ed; more *rational*, though not so *powerful*
as

SECRET. as the *slavish*. But without national *Val-*
VII. *lour*, *Union* is a dead and unactive Qua-
— lity.

IF the Principles maintained in this Work be true; the Defect of Valour in a national Militia, will not lie among the *private* Men, but among the *Officers*. And indeed, who can seriously believe, that those Gentlemen who find the *Attendance* upon a *Quarter-Sessions* for the Service of their Country, too *severe* a Burthen of Duty upon their enervated Bodies and Minds, will vigorously undertake and go through the *Dangers* and *Fatigues* of war-like Service?

IT must therefore be expected as a certain Event, that a Militia will, on its first Institution, and for a long Time be *useless*. But this is not said with a View to discourage the Establishment, but only to prevent
prevent

prevent groundless Expectations; which
being disappointed in the first Establish-
ment of a Militia, might lead the Nation
into a Belief, that the Institution could
never be useful.

SECT.
VII.

THIS Circumstance, therefore, is no Reason why a Militia should not be set on Foot; but rather a good Reason for its speedy Establishment: Because the continued *Exercise* of a Militia, if undertaken with that *Vigour* and *serious Intention* which it deserves, is perhaps the most promising means of *re-kindling*, by slow Degrees, the *military* Spirit among us.

As a rational Encouragement to the Hopes of the Nation, let us cast our Eyes back upon former Times, and hear the impartial Judgement of a great Foreigner, who could have no Views to influence his Opinion. “ There is scarce any Body ig-
“ norant

SECT. " norant, that of late Years the ENGLISH
 VII. " invaded FRANCE, and entertained no
 " Soldiers but their own: And yet, tho'
 " ENGLAND had had no Wars of thirty
 " Years before, and had neither Officer
 " nor Soldier who had ever seen a Battle,
 " they ventured to attack a Kingdom
 " where the Officers were excellent, the
 " Soldiers good, having been trained up
 " for several Years together in the *Italian*
 " Wars. This proceeded from the Pru-
 " dence of the Prince, and the Excel-
 " lence of that Government, in which,
 " even in Times of Peace, the *Exercise*
 " of *Arms* is *not intermitted**."

THE main Conclusion I mean to draw
 from these Observations, is only this.
 " The Establishment of a Militia must

* Mach. Disc. l. i. c. 21.

"destroy

“ destroy effeminate Manners; or effemi- S E C T.
“ nate Manners will render uselefs a Mi- VII.
“ litia.”

S E C T. VIII.

Farther Remarks on the State of our Armies.

“ LAND-OFFICERS in the *Capital*, are S E C T.
“ occupied in Drefs, Cards, and Tea; VIII.
“ and in Country Towns divide their
“ Time between Milleners *Shops* and *Ta-*
“ *verns* *.”

THIS Abuse of Leisure in Time of Peace, hath been one of the leading Causes of that Disgrace, into which the Armies of *Great-Britain* are fallen. On this Subject, as being beyond my Sphere, I will not presume to instruct the military

* Vol. I. p. 101.

Gentle-

SECT. Gentlemen of my Country: At least, if

VIII.

I do, it shall be on the Authority, and in the Words of a great Writer; who speaking of the proper Employments of a Soldier, in Time of Peace, wisely expresseth himself as follows.

“ He never ought to relax his Thoughts
“ from the Exercises of War; not even
“ in Time of Peace: And indeed, *then*
“ he ought to employ his Thoughts more
“ studiously therein, than in War itself;
“ which may be done two Ways, by the
“ Application of the Body, and of the
“ Mind. As to his bodily Application, or
“ Matter of Action;—he ought to inure
“ himself to Sports: And by hunting and
“ hawking, and such like Recreation, ac-
“ custom his Body to Hardship, Hunger,
“ and Thirst: And at the same Time in-
“ form himself of the Coasts and Situa-
“ tion of the Country; the Size and Ele-
“ vation

“ vation of the Mountains ; the Largeness S E C T.
“ and Avenues of the Valleys ; the Ex- VIII.
“ tent of the Plains, the Nature of the
“ Rivers and Fens, which is to be done
“ with great Curiosity. This Knowledge
“ is useful in two Respects : For hereby
“ he not only learns to know his own
“ Country, and to provide better for its
“ Defence ; but it prepares and adapts
“ him, by observing their Situations, to
“ comprehend the Situations of other
“ Countries, which perhaps may be ne-
“ cessary for him to explore. For the
“ Hills, the Vales, the Plains, the Ri-
“ vers, and the Marshes (for Example) in
“ TUSCANY, have a certain Similitude
“ and Resemblance to those in other Pro-
“ vinces : So that, by the Knowledge of
“ one, we may more easily imagine the
“ rest. And he who is defective in this,
“ wants the most necessary Qualification
“ for a General : For by knowing the
VOL. II. M “ Country

S E C T. " Country, he knows how to beat up his
 VIII. " Enemy, take up his Quarters, march
 " his Troops, draw up his Men, or be-
 " siege a Town with Advantage. In the
 " Character which Historians give of
 " PHILOPOMENES Prince of ACHAIA, one
 " of his great Commendations is, that in
 " Time of Peace he studied military Af-
 " fairs; and when he was in Company
 " with his Friends in the Country, he
 " would many Times stop suddenly, and
 " expostulate with them, " If the Enemy
 " were upon that Hill, and our Army
 " where we are, which would have the
 " Advantage of the Ground? How could
 " we come at them with most Security?
 " If we would draw off, how might we
 " do it best? Or if they should retreat,
 " how should we pursue?" So that, as he
 " was travelling, he would propose all
 " the Accidents to which an Army was
 " Subject; he would hear their Opinion,
 " give

“ give them his own, and reinforce it SECT.
“ with Arguments: And this he did so VIII.
“ frequently, that by continual Practice,
“ and a constant Intention of his Thoughts
“ upon that Business, he brought himself
“ to that Perfection, that no Accident
“ could happen, no Inconvenience could
“ occur to an Army, but he could pre-
“ sently redress it. But as to the Exer-
“ cise of the Mind, he is to do that by
“ Diligence in History*, and solemn
“ Consideration of the Actions of the
“ most excellent Men: By observing how
“ they demeaned themselves in War; by
“ examining the Grounds and Reasons of
“ their Victories and Losses; that he may

* MACHIAVEL is a little incorrect here, in the Division of his Subject: For a great Part of what he had said above is, strictly, an Exercise of the Mind, no less than the Study of History.

SECT. " be able to avoid the one, and imitate
 VIII. " the other *.

THESE, doubtless, are admirable Instructions; and followed, as I have been informed, by the greatest Captain of this, or any other Age: Yet such is the established Effeminacy, the wretched Affectation of

* MACHIAVEL's Prince, c. 14. He adds another Circumstance, which perhaps is not so certain in its Effects. He says, "Above all, he is to keep
 " close to the Example of some great Captain of
 " old; and not only to make him his Pattern, but
 " to have all his Actions perpetually in his Mind."
 Thus, it is true, ALEXANDER did (as it is affirmed) by ACHILLES; CÆSAR by ALEXANDER; SCIPIO by CYRUS. And the Principle was just, while the Arms offensive and defensive were of the same Kind. But the Invention of *Gunpowder* hath wrought such a total Change in Arms, Discipline, and the Methods of *Attack* and *Defence*, that an Adherence to the Practice of any ancient Leader would be in Danger of misguiding, rather than instructing any modern Warrior, in the *particulars of Execution*: But in the *general Principles of conducting War and Armies*, this Rule may still be applied with Success.

fashion-

fashionable and trifling Discourse, that now S E C T.
prevails in the Armies of *Great-Britain*, VIII.
that such a Conduct, though rational and
manly in the highest Degree, would be
treated with Derision and Contempt. The
Writer cannot hope to escape their Ridi-
cule on this Occasion: And doubts not,
but he is by this Time set down by most
of his military Readers, as a *Pedant* and
a *Martinet*.

S E C T. IX.

The same Subject continued.

IT may, perhaps, be a Question worth S E C T.
resolving, “whether *gross* Vices or *refined* IX.
“ Vices be more fatal to the Spirit of De-
“ fence, and to the *Armies* of any State?”
The Writer hopes, that no Critic will be
so very uncharitable, as to tax him here,
with a Vindication of any Vice whatever:

SECT. IX. Yet knowing of what Materials the general Herd of Critics are made, he thinks it not amiss to throw in this Caution. His Resolution, then, of the Question is, that *refined* and *effeminate* Vices are more fatal to an Army than *gross* ones. First, Because, when they once catch, they become more general. Secondly, Because they are equally destructive of military Application and Capacity, with those of a grosser Cast. Thirdly, Because they tend much more than gross Vices, to destroy two of the main Hinges, on which the Spirit of Defence must hang: These are *Hardiness* and *Courage*. Is it necessary to confirm this by Facts? The Facts are at Hand. The Armies of this Kingdom were more *grossly* vicious in Queen ANN's Reign than at present. I need not point out the Consequence.

At

AT the same Time, let it be acknow- S E C T.
ledged or asserted, that the *personal* Cha- IX.
racter and Conduct of a Man *grossly* vi-
cious is more *hateful* than of *refined* Vice.
Which of these two Kinds of Vice are
more criminal in a *moral* or *religious* Light,
is again a different Question. We keep
here, to the leading Point in View, the
Strength and *Duration* of a State.

AND it is certain (such is the strange
Complication of human Circumstances and
Affairs) that with Regard to this, several
Habits, Qualities, and Actions, which seem
innocent in themselves, as they affect
or influence *private* Life, are equally or
more hurtful than others of a more odious
Appearance, if we consider them as they
affect the *public* Strength and Welfare.
This comes to pass, because the ill Conse-
quences of some Actions are *immediate*;

SECT. of others, more *distant*. The first strike
 IX. the *Imagination*, and are seen by all: The

 latter must be traced up to their Causes by the Use of *Reason*; and to do this, exceeds the Talents of the many. Hence an unequal Judgment often ariseth, concerning moral and political Good or Evil, the *comparative* Merit or Demerit of Actions and Men. Many of the pernicious Effects of Luxury and Effeminacy fall under this Observation: And hence came the poor and wretched Reasonings of two Champions of Luxury and Effeminacy*, whose Principles will be examined in a proper Place.

SECT. X.

Additional Thoughts on the Navy.

SECT. "SEA-OFFICERS, even in Time of
 X. "War, instead of annoying the Enemy's

* DOCTOR MANDEVILLE, and Mr. DAVID HUME.

I

" Fleets,

“ Fleets, are chiefly busied in the gainful SECT.
“ Trade of catching Prizes *.” X.

THERE is little Danger, as yet, of the Body of our Fleets being Effeminate: Their way of Life secures them from it. There is a natural Ferocity of Manners attending the Sea-Service, which would always preserve itself, were it not quelled by the Contagion of effeminate Example: The Danger, therefore, ariseth from the *Commanders*, whose present false Ambition and Way of Life naturally leads them to Effeminacy.

IT is remarkable in our Navy, (what the Writer speaks, he knows to be Fact) that the young Men bred to the Sea Service, so long as their Conversation lies among the *inferior* Ranks in their Ship,

* Vol. I. p. 101.

retain

SECT. retain or acquire the *Spirit* of English
X. Sailors ; that is, they grow brave, hardy,

and intrepid. But no sooner do they rise
to the Rank of *Captains*, but the Example
of the Times infects them : False *Ele-*
gance and effeminate *Parade* take Place :
French Cooks and Valets are sought after :
The Commander of the Ship becomes a
Sultan, who lives in idle State, and hath
his Duty done by his *Vizir*, his *First Lieu-*
tenant. Time was, when Matters went
otherwise ; and the Nation feels the Dif-
ference.

AT the same Time, it were Injustice to
the *Navy*, not to acknowledge, that there
are Men in this Department who have done
Honour to themselves and their Country ;
and others rising into Name, who, with due
Encouragement and *Distinction* given, bid
fair to retrieve the Glory of the *British Flag*.

THE Act which gave the *Prize* to the
Captors, had manifestly a bad Tendency :

In

In every particular Case, it was an Al-
lurement to draw off the Captains from
the *Duty* of their Country, to the despica-
ble Views of *Privateering*. A worse Ef-
fect than this was, it's setting up a false
and fatal Principle, the Love of *Money*,
instead of the Love of *Glory* or of *Duty*.
Rational and true is the Observation of a
late political Writer : " We have destroy-
" ed the Principle, which was the Source
" of our Glory. We have misguided the
" Ambition of our Seamen ; we have
" tempted them with *Wealth* instead of
" *Reputation* ; and we have substituted
Avarice to *Honour* *."

THESE are manifest Tendencies to *Ill* ;
and are generally supposed to have brought
upon our Fleets this sordid Spirit of *Prize-*
catching : But the Writer is of a different
Opinion. This Act seems to have been, not
so much the *Cause*, as the *Consequence*, of

* Letter, by a Country Gentleman.

SECT. the present *Rapacity* and *Profusion*. In a
 X. virtuous and disinterested Period, as there
 ————— would have been no Necessity for it, so
 if it had taken Place, it would have had no
 Effect : The Reward proposed would not
 have drawn off a brave and disinterested
 Commander from his Duty. But, I apprehend, they who proposed this Act, seeing
 and knowing what was the *ruling* Spirit of
 the *Times*, imagined it more for the Bene-
 fit of the Public, that our Fleets should
 fight for *Gain*, than *not at all*.

THE Truth therefore seems to be, that
 tho' the Act hath a bad Tendency ; yet it
 cannot be said to have created, tho' it hath
 certainly increased the selfish Spirit of the
 Navy. An ill *Act*, like an ill *Citizen*, can
 do no great Harm, but in an *ill-disposed*
City.

How different were both the Conduct
 and the Police of the ROMANS ? Who, in-
 stead

stead of filling the *private* Purfes of their S E C T.
Leaders, made it a Circumftance of *In-* X.
famy, if, upon their Return from War, they
 did not enrich the *Coffers* of the *Republic* :
 Infomuch, that at length it came to pafs,
 that no *Consul* was permitted to Triumph,
 who had not firft put a vaft Quantity of
 Silver or Gold, or fome other valuable
 Commodity, into the PUBLIC TREASURY.

S E C T. XI.

Of the Marine Society.

SINCE therefore the Degeneracy of our S E C T.
 Fleet arifeth evidently from the Command- XI.
 ers : this naturally leads me to fay fome-
 thing on the Inftitution of the “ *Marine*
 “ *Society* ;” and to confider what *may*, or
 may not be expected from it.

THE

SECT. THE Institution is humane, praise-
XI. worthy, and excellent, in two Respects.

FIRST, It rescues a Number of wretched *Boys* from *Crimes* and *Misery* ; and the *Public* from the *Effects* which these *Crimes* and that *Misery* would have produced.

SECONDLY, It tends to alleviate that great Evil of *pressing* Men for the Sea-Service.

BUT notwithstanding these good Effects, it must not be expected, that this Institution, laudable and humane as it is, will ever raise our *Fleets* into their former *Credit* ; because it can only affect and strengthen the *Body* of the Fleet, and not the Manners, Principles, and Conduct of the *Commanders*.

SECT.

S E C T. XII.

*Farther Considerations on the National Spirit
of Union.*

“ MONTESQUIEU hath often given it as S E C T.
“ his Opinion, that Factions are not only XII.
“ natural, but necessary to free Govern-
“ ments *.” This Opinion was criticised,
and shewn to be in some Sense *erroneous*,
because too *general*. It is only taken No-
tice of here, with a View to observe, that
the celebrated Author borrowed this Opi-
nion, with many other important Observa-
tions in his Book, from MACHIAVEL’S
Discourses on LIVY †. But in Justice to
the sagacious FLORENTINE, we must ob-
serve, that *he* limits the Observation to the
Times in which public Spirit was predomi-
nant ; whereas the other great Writer ex-

* Vol. I. p. 104.

† Vol. I. l. i. c. 4.

tends

S E C T. tends it to the later Periods, when selfish
XII. Ambition had quenched the Love of their
Country; and hence arose his Error.

As these two Authors, in the Writer's Opinion, possess the highest Station in the political Scale; it may be worth while to give a *comparative* Sketch of their different *Characters*.

MACHIAVEL, born and bred in tumultuous and profligate Times, and occupied in the Affairs of a distempered Republic, caught his first Principles of Politics from what he *saw*. MONTESQUIEU, more happy in his Birth and Fortune, enjoying an early Leisure, in a quiet and well-regulated Monarchy, drew his first Principles of Politics from what he *read*. Yet neither was the *first* given up to mere personal *Observation*; nor the last, to mere *Study*: In the Progress of Life, MACHIAVEL applied

plied himself to *Books*, and MONTES-
QUIEU to *Men* : Yet, as was natural,
their first Habits *prevailed*, and gave to
each his distinct and peculiar *Character*.

SECT.

XII.

HENCE, tho' *both* saw the internal and
secret Springs of Government, (which,
in my Opinion, no Writer, but these two,
did ever fully comprehend or penetrate)
yet they saw them by different *Lights*, and
thro' different *Mediums*. MACHIAVEL'S
leading *Guide*, was *Fact* ; MONTESQUIEU'S
was *Philosophy*. In Consequence of this,
Simplicity forms the Character of the *one*,
Refinement that of the *other*. The specu-
lative FRENCHMAN forms a fine *System*, to
the Completion of which, he sometimes
tortures both *Argument* and *Fact* : The
plain and downright FLORENTINE builds
on *Facts*, independent of all *System*. The
polite and disinterested *Sage* is warm in the
Praise of Honesty : The active and pene-
VOL. II. N trating

S E C T. trating *Secretary*, above Praise or Censure,
 XII. gives a bold and striking Picture of the

Ways of Men. Hence, while the first gains every *Heart*, by the Force of *moral* Sympathy, the latter hath been falsely *detested*, as the *Enemy* of Virtue and Mankind. MACHIAVEL is *negligent*, yet pure and *strong*, scorning the *minuter Graces* of Composition: MONTESQUIEU is *elegant*, yet *nervous*; and to the *Acuteness* of the *Philosopher*, often adds the *Fire* of the *Poet*. Both were the Friends of Freedom, and of Man: Both *superior* to the *Genius* of their *Time* and *Country*: Both, truly *great*: The FLORENTINE *severe* and *great*; the FRENCHMAN, *great* and *amiable*.

“ THEREFORE, before we can deter-
 “ mine, whether the Factions that divide
 “ a free Country be salutary or dangerous,
 “ it is necessary to know what is their
 “ Foundation and their Object: If they
 “ arise

“ arise from Freedom of Opinion, and S E C T.
“ aim at the public Welfare, they are fa- XII.
“ lutary : If their Source be selfish Inter-
“ est, of what Kind soever, they are
“ then dangerous and destructive *.” I
cannot give a better Comment on this
Truth, than in the Words of BOLING-
BROKE. “ As long as the Spirit of Li-
“ berty prevailed, a *Roman* sacrificed his
“ own, and therefore, no Doubt, every
“ other personal Interest, to the Interest of
“ the Commonwealth : When the latter
“ succeeded (the Spirit of Faction) the In-
“ terest of the Commonwealth was con-
“ sidered no otherwise, than in Subordi-
“ nation to that *particular* Interest, which
“ each Person had espoused. The prin-
“ cipal Men, instead of making their
“ Grandeur and Glory consist, as they
“ formerly had done, in that which the

* Vol. I. p. 106.

SECT. " Grandeur and Glory of the Common-
 XII. " wealth reflected on them, considered
 " themselves now as *Individuals*, not as
 " *Citizens* ; and each would shine with his
 " own Light. To this Purpose alone they
 " employed the Commands they had of
 " Armies, the Government of Provinces,
 " and the Influence they acquired over the
 " Tribes at ROME, and over the Allies
 " and Subjects of the Republic. Upon
 " Principles of the same Kind, inferior
 " Persons attached themselves to these ;
 " and that Zeal and Industry, nay that
 " Courage and Magnanimity, which had
 " been exerted formerly in the Service of
 " the Commonwealth, were exerted by
 " the Spirit of Faction, for MARIUS or
 " SYLLA, for CÆSAR or POMPEY *."

So stands the Case, with Regard to
 the *general* Foundations of *Faction*, in most

* Remarks on the History of *England*, Letter II.

" Times

Times and Countries. But there is another Source of Faction, of which we have had most fatal Instances in our own Country, distinct both from that of public Spirit and selfish Interest : I mean that of *erroneous Conscience* ; when the *unalienable Right* of governing is supposed to be inherent in any particular Man, or Race of Men. This, though it hath not the *Nature*, hath most of the *Consequences* of *selfish Faction* ; and is attended with this additional Evil, that as it is founded in *Principle*, it is more *steady* and *resolved*. The Civil Wars which rent the Kingdom during the Contentions between the Houses of YORK and LANCASTER, were of this Kind. Of this Kind too, in good Measure, were the Civil Wars, in which CHARLES the First perished : And of this Kind, altogether, have been the consequent Rebellions against the established Government. This Distinction, however,

SECT. must be remarked in Favour of the free
 XII. Spirit and Sense of the *Lancastrians* and

Yorkists, beyond that of the *Stuart* Party;
 that these last pant for *Thraldom* and
Chains; but among both the former, the
 same Men who would have *died* for their
 respective *Kings*, would have *died* for the
Laws and the *Liberty* of their Country.

SECT. XIII.

The same Subject continued.

SECT. LET us now proceed to consider more
 XIII. particularly the Causes that have weakened

or destroyed the national Spirit of Union,
 since the great Revolution, which took
 Place on the Abdication of JAMES the
 Second.

IT hath been one of the Writer's main
 Intentions, in the Progress of this Work,
 to

to point out the natural *Weaknesses* and De- S E C T.
fects of a *free* System of Government: XIII.

He did not at first apprehend, that any Apology could be necessary for this Conduct, because he thought it a clear Point, that the more evidently these *Weaknesses* and *Defects* were *explained*, their proper *Guards* and preventive *Securities* would with the greater Care and Caution be *applied*. Hence he freely expatiated on the Dangers attending a Dissolution of Manners and Principles; hence he hath freely set forth the natural Stability of *Popery* beyond that of *Protestantism*; hence he freely explained the natural Inconveniencies that arose even from such a great Event, as that of the *Revolution* in eighty eight. This, and more, he hath done, that his Countrymen, being aware of the *Delicacy* of that fine *Structure*, which is at once the Pride and Security of its Owners, might use all timely Expedients, to maintain its

SECT. *Foundations* in their original Strength, and
XIII. not expose themselves to the dreadful Calamities in which its *Fall* must involve them.

BUT see the Consequence: Because he had affirmed, that, under an arbitrary Government, the Spirit of Union was naturally *strong*, he hath from thence had the Imputation laid upon him, of being a Friend to arbitrary Government: Because he pointed out a new Principle of Faction, which *naturally arose* from the *Revolution*, he hath been accused, as an *Enemy* to that *Revolution*: Because he had asserted, that the *Abuse* of *Freedom* had destroyed religious Principle, he hath been miscalled an ill *Wisher* to *Freedom* itself: So blind are these QUIXOTS in their Adoration of *Liberty*, that they accuse her Physician of *Disaffection* to the favourite *Fair*, merely because he declares her to be *mortal*; tho' at

at the same Time he holds forth the *Medi-* S E C T.
cines that might *prolong* her *Life*. XIII.

BUT though he hath Candour enough to believe, that in some, these Accusations arise from sincere Belief, founded in narrow and mistaken Views of Politics; yet he hath ample Grounds to suspect, that in others, Insinuations of this Kind have sprung from the Leaven of Malice and Wickedness, working in its usual Way, against every Thing that is free, fair, and honest. The next Charge against him will probably be founded in what he hath said on the Genius of *Popery* and *Protestantism*: Nor will he be much surprized, if those who naturally rail at what they cannot answer, should blacken him with the Infamy of being a *Papist* in his *Heart*.

IN

SECT. IN the mean Time, he turns his Back
XIII. on their Iniquity, and proceeds to his appointed Task.

FROM the Restraints laid on the Royal Prerogative at the Revolution, and the Power of Parliaments which naturally arose from these Restraints, together with the selfish and lucrative Views, to the Gratification of which these Parliaments soon began to prostitute their growing Power, he drew this Consequence. “ WILLIAM
“ the Third, found this to be the national
“ Turn; and set himself, like a Politician,
“ to oppose it: He therefore silenced
“ all he could, by Places or Pensions:
“ And hence the Origin of MAKING
“ PARLIAMENTS.”

THIS, the Writer is informed, hath been perversely misinterpreted into a Satire
on

on King WILLIAM. He therefore thinks it necessary to explain himself.

SECT.
XIII.

WHEN therefore it is said, “Hence the
“Origin of making Parliaments,” it
is not meant, that such Attempts had ne-
ver been made before. There is hardly
a Period in the *English* History, but would
give the Lye to such an Assertion. From
an Examination of ancient Times it would
appear, that the Practice (as was natural)
was always most *frequent* when the Go-
vernment was *weakest*: When the Power
and Prerogative of the Crown were high,
the desired Effects were wrought with-
out *making Parliaments*. Therefore the
evident Meaning of the Passage is this,
that the Practice of making Parliaments
was now first laid down as a *necessary Prin-*
ciple of Government; and this was the
necessary Consequence of *lessening* the
2 *Prero-*

SECT. *Prerogative*, where *Parliaments* were
 XIII. *selfish*.

IN WILLIAM the Third therefore, it seemed an Act of Necessity: At least, he judged it such, and was heartily tired of it. Insomuch that the Perverseness of his Parliaments, arising from *factious* Conduct, founded in *selfish* and *lucrative* Views, had well nigh tempted him to quit his Throne, to return to his native Country.

WE see then, that this Principle of *Faction* was a *natural* Defect, arising from a *noble Change* in the Constitution: Evils infinitely greater were taken away: A general Change of political Principles, with all their various Consequences, was the natural Effect of that Revolution. The *Defects* (or rather Evils) of an *arbitrary* Government *ceased*: The *Defects* of a *free* Government *arose*: And it is the main
 Pur-

Purpose of this Estimate, to point out
and resist *these*.

SECT.

XIII.

“ Shires and Boroughs, which in for-
“ mer Times had paid their Representa-
“ tives for their Attendance in Parliament,
“ were now the great Objects of Request,
“ and political Struggle*.”

THE following Anecdotes, in Illustration of the Progress of the Evil here spoken of, were given to the Writer, by a learned Friend, whose Profession leads him to Enquiries of this Nature.

IT hath long been debated among the learned in the Antiquities of this Kingdom, at what Time the Privilege of the *Commons of England*, to share in the *Legislative* Power, first commenced; some placing its Origin as high as the earliest Ages of the *Saxon*

* Vol. I. p. 110.

SECT. Monarchy ; others reducing it to the
XIII. latter End of the Reign of EDWARD I.

There is a Mixture of Truth in both Opinions.—For it is most probable, that the Commons of *England*, who were *Proprietors* of Land, had always some Share in the Legislature. And at the same Time it is most certain, that this Right was not reduced to the regular Form it now assumes, till the latter Period.

HOWEVER important this Privilege may now appear, it was not for a long Time after the Reign of EDWARD I. thought of any great Value, or much sought after ; as appears by the great Neglect of Attendance in Parliament in the latter End of the Reign of EDWARD III. and the Beginning of RICHARD II. which was then so remarkable, that it was found necessary to enforce it by an Act of Parliament, which
required

required Attendance, under Pain of A- SECT.
mercement. XIII.

It is an old Observation, that formerly
“ the Interest of Parliament was never
“ more predominant, than when Kings
“ wanted Title or Age.” Hence the
Commons first began to find their Importance in the Reign of RICHARD II. and continued to increase it during the Reigns of HENRY IV. HENRY VI. and HENRY VII. In Consequence of this, it became necessary to regulate Elections ; the first Statute relating to which was made in the Reign of HENRY IV. From this period, Endeavours were used to make Parliaments subservient to the Views of the ruling Party, and their Importance in those Days arose, or fell, in Proportion to the Occasions such Party had for their Authority.

As

SECT.

XIII.

As the Times were tumultuous till the Union of the Houses of YORK and LANCASTER, it was common before that Period for *Sheriffs* to omit or excuse the not making Returns for several of the Boroughs within their Counties. Sometimes giving for Reason of their Omission, that the other Boroughs were not able to send any Burgeffes because of their *Poverty* or *Inability* ; which was never then complained of, or objected to, by the Boroughs themselves ; though several Acts of Parliament had been made to compel the Sheriffs to make Returns for all the Boroughs : Nay, several of the Boroughs after they had once or twice sent up their Representatives, found the Burthen too great, and *procured* perpetual *Exemptions* which remain to this Day. How differently do we value this Right at present ? When no Price is thought too great for the Purchase of a Borough ;
and

and no Family, how ancient or honour-
able soever, of any Consequence, but in
Proportion to these modern Possessions ?

SECT.

XIII.

MARK the uniform Effects of the same Principles and Causes, working at the Distance of two thousand Years. “ The Consulship, or any other Office or Dignity, was never conferred by the People of ROME, upon any body but by formal Application : Which Custom was originally very good ; because none sought for them, who was conscious of being unfit ; forasmuch as to be repulsed, was a dishonourable Thing ; and to make himself *fit*, every Man chose to be *virtuous*. But afterwards, the Manners of the People growing so fatally corrupt, this Custom lost its primitive Convenience, and became not only useless, but pernicious : For they who had most Power, not they who had most Virtue and Capacity,

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O

“ pre-

SECT. “ pretended to the Magistracy; the Poor
 XIII. “ and the Virtuous not daring to appear,
 “ for fear of a Repulse. But this Incon-
 “ venience, like the City itself, was not
 “ the Product of a Day: It stole into the
 “ Commonwealth, lay concealed, increas-
 “ ed, and exerted itself by Degrees, as
 “ all other Inconveniences do.—Security,
 “ and an unhappy Scarcity of Enemies,
 “ was the Occasion, that, in their Creation
 “ of Consuls, the People of ROME began
 “ to regard *Riches* and *Favour* more than
 “ *Ability* and *Virtue*; preferring such Per-
 “ sons as could entertain and treat People
 “ handsomely, to such as were grave, and
 “ could only conquer their Enemies:
 “ Afterwards, from those who were most
 “ plausible, they came down, and created
 “ such as were most powerful; so that
 “ Persons of *Virtue* and *Capacity* were to-
 “ tally excluded*.”

* Machiavel's Disc. l. i. c. 18.

THE Writer proceeds : “ It hath been SECT.
 “ much debated, whether the *Ministers* XIII.
 “ or the *People* have contributed more to
 “ the Establishment of this System of
 “ Self-Interest and Faction *.” Here is
 an Error, in Expression at least. In Justice
 to the Body of the *British* People it must
 be remarked, that by the *People* was, or
 ought to have been meant, chiefly the
 higher Ranks of the Nation ; except only
 in *Boroughs*, where the Corruption, here
 spoken of, runs down through the lowest
 of the People.

“ ON Enquiry it would probably ap-
 “ pear, that at different Periods the Pen-
 “ dulum hath swung at large on both
 “ Sides : It came down in former Times,
 “ from the Minister to the Representative,

* Vol. I. p. 112.

SECT. " &c.—In later Times, the Impulse seems
 XIII. " to have been chiefly in the contrary
 — " Direction, &c. *."——These Changes
 followed each other according to the natu-
 ral Operation of Causes and Effects : But
 tho' the Writer shewed their general Pro-
 gress, yet he did it not with that Particu-
 larity of Circumstance, which so interest-
 ing a Subject deserves.

HE apprehends, therefore, that there
 have been three essential Changes of Prin-
 ciple, in the Progress of this great and
 ruling Evil. It *began* from the *Crown*, at
 the *Revolution*, from a Principle of *Necessi-*
ty : It was *continued*, by succeeding Mi-
 nisters, and brought to its Crisis by ONE
 Minister, on a Principle of supposed *Pru-*
dence : It hath since been *continued* on a
 Principle of supposed *Necessity* again : but

* Vol. I. *ibid.*

that

that supposed Necessity hath had a Foun- S E C T.
dation different from that which took XIII.
Place at the Revolution. For that *first*
Necessity arose from the State of the
Times, when a new modelled Govern-
ment, like a new planted Tree, had not
yet taken Root in the Minds of the Peo-
ple ; and therefore the Storms of Parlia-
mentary Faction were of more dangerous
Consequence to its Rise and Growth. But
after this System of Self-Interest had been
rivetted by *one Minister*, in the Minds of
the People, and the *higher Ranks* through-
out the Nation, and all Men of *all* Ranks
in *Boroughs*, were taught to expect and
demand the utmost Penny for their Vote
or Interest ; then it was, that a new Kind
of Necessity commenced ; and succeed-
ing Ministers, honest in their Wishes and
Intent, were seemingly *compelled* to *that*
which their Predecessor had *voluntarily*
established.

S E C T. XIV.

*Remarks on the Conduct of a famous
Minister.*

S E C T. XIV. “ THERE was a noted Minister in this
Kingdom, whose Character, perhaps,
“ might be drawn in these few Words,
“ that while he seemed to strengthen the
“ Superstructure, he weakened the Foun-
“ dations of our Constitution *.”

THE Writer understands, that some
Offence hath been taken at what he af-
firmed in general Terms, concerning this
Minister: He therefore thinks it neces-
sary to explain himself more particularly:
Not, indeed, with any *interested* Views of
pleasing any *Party*; because he appre-
hends, that his Sentiments concerning this
Minister,

Minister, are *different* from those of both S E C T.
his *Friends* and *Enemies*. XIV.

THE real Faults of his Ministry ought the rather to be delineated, because many Men of *Sense* and *Worth*, *admire* and *maintain* his System : And finding that he was charged with Designs he never formed, they have thence inferred, I suppose, that he was therefore *blameless*.

HIS Friends are generally accounted, and some of them I know *are*, the real Friends of Liberty : To *these* it cannot be unacceptable, *freely* and FAIRLY to examine the Nature of his Administration. If we are curbed in this Point of Enquiry, our Liberty is lost in its most essential Circumstance. Nor surely can it be taken amiss in that Nation, to criticise a *dead Minister*, where every Man with Impunity can insult the LIVING GOD.

SECT. IN this Enquiry, therefore, two Things
XIV. will appear remarkable : One, that his
— Enemies, in their Discourses, Speeches,
and Writings, charged him with Things
he was not guilty of : The other, that
what was really pernicious in his System,
that they totally overlooked ; and would
not, or could not see.

1st, THEREFORE, It is not true, that
this Minister corrupted the Nation : He
found it corrupted to his Hand. It is not
in the Power of any *one* Man to taint an
upright People. He may put the Wheels
in Motion, but cannot create a general
Change : His Life is too short, and une-
qual to the Effect.

2dly, IT is not true, that he ever form-
ed any Design to inflave his Country. He
did not wish *so ill* to his Country. More
than

than this: His Genius was *peaceful*, and never led him to this blind and ambitious Project: For he had Sense enough to know, that so daring a Design could never be executed, without involving the Nation in the Horrors of a *civil War*. SECT.
XIV.

THESE are the atrocious Crimes, with one or both of which he hath been falsely charged by his Enemies. Let us now consider the real Genius and Faults of his Administration.

1. IN his private Character, he was *amiable* and *friendly*. Yet even this private Character may justly be regarded as a main Foundation of those Defects, which blotted his Ministry. For,

2. HE carried his domestic and friendly Attachments into public Life; and for the Advantage of *Individuals* whom
he

SECT. he *loved*, often sacrificed the Interests of
 XIV. that *Public* which he neither *loved* nor

hated: For his Affections were of the
 common and confined Kind, and never
 reached so far as to comprehend his *Coun-*
try.

3. THOUGH he had no natural Inclina-
 tion to corrupt Practices, yet he rather
 chose to rule by *these*, than to resign his
 Power. This Conduct was founded in
 his Temper too: He preferred the imme-
 diate Interest of his Friends, to the future
 and distant Welfare of his Country.

4. His *Genius* for Government was of
 a *confined* Nature; and therefore it may be
 unfair to charge his Intentions with all the
 Consequences of his Administration. Tho'
 he had an acute Eye, so far as its Sphere
 extended, yet that Sphere was but narrow.
 He saw Things in their immediate, but not
 in

in their remote Effects. He regarded SECT.
Wealth, as the sole Fountain of national XIV.
Power, Strength, and Stability: He did
not foresee its Influence and Effects. But
let me add, that if he had foreseen them,
I do not think his Regard to the Public
was strong enough to have determined
him to a contrary System, against the na-
tural Bent of his own partial and confined
Affections.

5. THE Consequence of this narrow
Ability and Turn of Mind was, the utter
Neglect of the Manners and Principles of
the Nation, and of all those counterwork-
ing *Checks*, which ought to be laid upon a
People that is *growing* in Trade, Wealth,
and Luxury.

6. NAY, on the contrary, he forward-
ed the Growth of these pernicious Man-
ners and Principles: Not through the na-
tural

SECT. tural Love of Vice; but because he saw
XIV. them favourable to that Parliament Influence, without which he found he could not both gratify his favourite Ends, and maintain himself in Power.

Thus, while Trade and Wealth, the grand *Incentives* to *Vice*, increased; he neglected, nay discouraged the Care of salutary Manners and Principles, the only effectual *Checks* to *Vice*. Thus, while he *enriched Individuals*, he made his *Country poor*. Instead of using his Power, in filling every public Office and Department with Men of Ability and Virtue, he sacrificed Ability and Virtue to Views of Parliament Influence. Thus he established corrupt Principles with a View to strengthen Faction in support of the Crown, till those very Principles have become a Burthen upon the Crown itself: Thus by unnatural and forced Applications, he gave a temporary
Motion

Motion to the Wheels of State; while the S E C T.
the natural, and internal Master-Springs XIV.
of Government were losing their Elasti-
city and Power: And thus he greatly con-
tributed to reduce us to that State of poli-
tical *Dissolution* and *Non-Entity*, under
which we groan at present.

THIS, according to the Writer's Appre-
hension, is a true Delineation of the Ge-
nius of his Ministry. And thus, "while
" he seemed to strengthen the Superstruc-
" ture, he weakened the Foundations of
" our Constitution."

S E C T. XV.

*A Reflection on the future Effects of Par-
liamentary Influence on the Balance of
Power.*

" BUT what an Aggravation of this S E C T.
" Evil would arise, should ever those of XV.
" the

SECT. “ the highest Rank insult the Genius of
 XV. “ the Constitution, by solliciting Votes, or
 ——— “ procuring others to solicit them; by in-
 “ fluencing Elections in an avowed De-
 “ fiance of their Country, and even selling
 “ vacant Seats in Parliament to the best
 “ Bidder *?”

THE Writer apprehends, there is a dreadful Evil ready to burst upon this Kingdom, which hath not yet disclosed itself; but will soon come to a Crisis, if not checked with Speed and Vigour. This he will take the Liberty to explain with *Candour*. Yet *Prudence* whispers him, on this Occasion, to speak with *Caution*. But though, on this Account, his *Expressions* may be *indirect*, he will take Care that his *Meaning* shall be *clear*.

* Vol. I. p. 120.

THE

THE Danger which threatened our SECT.
Constitution, by a too violent Exertion of XV.
the Prerogative, under the Reigns of the
STUARTS, hath long ceased. Neverthe-
less, the Convulsions it occasioned in 1641,
will not speedily be forgotten: Nor ought
the Mischiefs and Confusions arising from
a Democracy, raised on the Destruction of
the regal and aristocratic Powers, to be
slightly reflected on. This Period of the
English History cannot be too much at-
tended to.

IT is generally apprehended now, that
our Constitution is again leaning towards
a Democracy: The Privilege of raising
Money, which is vested in the Commons,
gives that House so great a Weight in all
Determinations of Importance, that the
Crown and the House of Lords seem but
as

SECT. as Feathers put in the Scale against Heaps
XV. of Gold.

How far this *seeming* State of Things may be supported by *Reality* and *Fact*, is a Point too *delicate* for the Writer to determine. Yet, notwithstanding the Privilege vested in the Commons, of commanding the Purfes of their Constituents, it is not difficult to point a Situation, where this Privilege would be nothing but a *Name*. And as in the last Century, the regal and democratic Branches by turns bore down the Constitution, so, in such a Situation as is here *supposed*, the real Danger, tho' hidden, would lurk in the *Aristocratic* Branch; which would be secretly bearing down the Power both of the King and People.

THE Matter may be explained in a small Compass. Cannot we put a Case,
in

in which, the Parliamentary Interest of SECT.
the great Nobility might swallow up the XV.
House of Commons? Members might be
elected indeed; and elected in Form too.
But by whom might they really be elect-
ed? By the free Voice of the People? No
impartial Man would say it. It were
easy to suppose thirty or forty Men of
high Quality and Power, who, if united,
might go nigh to command a *Majority* in
the *lower* House. The Members of that
House might seem to be the Representa-
tives of the People: But would be in
Truth, a great Part of them, no more
than the commissioned Deputies of their
respective *Chiefs*, whose Sentiments they
would give, and whose Interests they would
pursue.

THUS, while Power would, in Appear-
ance, be centering in the lower House,

SECT. it would in reality be lurking in the
XV. higher.

THIS State of Things, should it come to pass, might not perhaps result from any Design in the Aristocratic Branch, to destroy the Constitution. They might have no farther Views than those of Gain, Vanity, or Pleasure. Notwithstanding this, their Conduct might have those Effects, which their Intentions never aspired to; though their own Ruin might be the final Consequence. Let us consider the most probable Effects.

THE first fatal Effect that offers itself to Observation is, that the Consciousness of such an increasing and exorbitant Power, which the Lords might acquire in the House of Commons, would *destroy* all honest *Ambition* in the younger Gentry. They would know, that the utmost Point
I they

they could hope to arrive at, would only SECT.
be to become the *Deputy* of some great XV.
Lord in a County or Borough. All the
Intentions of such a Post can be answered
by Ignorance and Servility, better than by
Genius and public Spirit. People of the
latter Stamp, therefore, would not natu-
rally be appointed to the Task: And this,
once known, would check the Growth of
Genius and public Spirit throughout the
Nation. The few Men of Ability and
Spirit that might be left, seeing this to be
the Case, would naturally betake them-
selves to such private Amusements as a
free Mind can honestly enjoy. All Hope,
and therefore by Degrees, all Desire, of
serving their Country would be extin-
guished.

THUS, honest Ambition would natu-
rally and generally be quenched. But
even where Ambition *continued*, it would

SECT. be *perverted*. Not *useful*, but *servile* Tal-
xv. lents would be applauded; and the ruling
— Pride would be, not that of *Freemen*, but
of *Slaves*.

THESE Effects would be bad: But there would be worse in Store. The *Nobility*, by this blind Conduct, would pave the Way for their own Destruction. It might be impossible, absolutely to foretell future Events; but what follows, seems to be according to the natural Progress of Causes and Effects.

IT is a known and trite Observation, that Power follows Property. Whoever examines in whose Hands the Weight of Property in this Nation is lodged, will find it to be in the Possession of the Commons. And although a few ambitious Lords should even engross a Majority of Counties and Boroughs; (the last, more generally, are within their Reach) yet these Men would not from hence become
2 possessed

possessed of the Property of those Coun-
tries, nor therefore of the Weight and In-
fluence which naturally follows it; and
which, if it is deprived of its proper and
legal Exertion, will break forth in illegal
and seditious Attempts. 'Tis easy to fore-
see, what would be the End of such Mea-
sures, when pursued to Extremity. What
else, but the Destruction of all Friendship
and good Correspondence between the
higher and lower Ranks of the Nation,
which hath hitherto been supported by
their mutual Want of each others Aid?

Now suppose this mutual Friendship
and Dependance to be destroyed by these
pernicious Measures, and then consider the
Consequence. The People would be
easily persuaded, that they have nothing
left, but an expensive Shadow of their for-
mer Constitution: That the greatest Part
of their Property is spent in supporting a

SECT. new System, built on the Ruins of their
 XV. former Privileges: That the Nation would
 — be better served, the Expence of Govern-
 ment less burthensome, if the Prince were
 left without the Controul of a Parliament,
 and from himself should appoint such Per-
 sons as are best qualified for the Posts they
 are to fill; and suppress such Offices as
 would be found useles and expensive, and
 of no Consequence to any but the Pos-
 sessors.

SOMETHING of this Kind must ine-
 vitably happen, if ever the Power of the
 Lords should make its Way into the lower
 House: And let a private Man dare to
 say, that it will *become* the GREAT, who
ought to be well read in History, to reflect
 on what happened in the *Roman* State.
There, the *Patricians*, while they main-
 tained their proper Character of superior
 Wisdom, Valour, and Love of their Coun-
 try

try (the only Characteristics of true Nobility) enjoyed their Power and Privileges, unmolested by the People. But when these noble Qualities were sunk in mean Views and selfish Attachments; when degenerate Manners and Lust of Power among the Leaders of the State, had destroyed the Rights of Election; *then*, even *Prætors* and *Consuls* became the mere Creatures of DICTATORS and TRIUMVIRS: These calamitous Events, after a few unsuccessful Struggles of expiring Freedom, terminated in an *arbitrary Monarchy*; under which, the *ancient Nobility* were in no Respect *distinguished*, but by the superior *Calamities*, in which the Cruelty of their Emperors involved them:

LET us now come nearer Home, and from ancient to modern Times; where we shall see similar Causes producing similar Effects.

SECT. THE State of SCOTLAND, (till the
 XV. *Union* took Place, and the heretable Juris-
 — dictions were abolished by the Influence of
 one, to whose Wisdom and Integrity in
 his high Station, this Kingdom will for
 ever stand indebted) presents an Instance
 by no means foreign to our Purpose: And
 this, I cannot better represent, than in the
 Words of a late learned Writer;

“ THE Constitution of SCOTLAND, till
 “ incorporated with that of ENGLAND,
 “ was in Fact, a Mixture of *Monarchy* and
 “ *Oligarchy*. The Nation consisted of a
 “ *Commonalty* without the Privilege of
 “ chusing their own Representatives; of
 “ a Gentry, intitled indeed to represent
 “ by Election, but unable to serve the
 “ Nation; and of a Nobility who op-
 “ pressed the one, and despised both.

“ IN

“ IN this Situation, the Representatives SECT.
“ of the Commons, discouraged with XV.
“ their own Insignificancy, either did not
“ attend the Parliament, or surrendered
“ their Privileges when in it. It appears
“ by the Acts of 1457, and 1503, that
“ though the Act of 1427, had given the
“ Freeholders a Power of sending Repre-
“ sentatives to Parliament, yet none, or
“ few, were sent.————

“ THE Revolution first brought other
“ Maxims into our (the *Scotch*) Govern-
“ ment; and the Union gave other Rights
“ to our Part of the Legislature: So that
“ now, our *Lords* and *Commons* being in-
“ corporated with those of the *English*,
“ the Constitution of *Scotland* is settled
“ upon that just Poise, betwixt Monarchy,
“ Aristocracy, and Democracy, which has
“ made

SECT. "made the Constitution of ENGLAND
 XV. "the Wonder of Mankind*."

THUS, we see, the Kingdom of SCOTLAND was in great Part rescued from the exorbitant Power of the *Aristocratic* Branch, by its Union with ENGLAND; and its Freedom compleated by the Abolition of the heretable Jurisdictions †. But as Power may be equally usurped and engrossed by *different Ways*; so *Parliamentary Influence* may work the same Effects with *slavish Tenures*; and from a *new Cause*, the Liberties of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND may fall together.

To this Instance of a free Nation groaning under the exorbitant Power of its Nobles, till rescued by its Union with another, let us add a still more striking Ex-

* History of Feudal Property in *Britain*, p. 274.
 &c. † See *ibid.* p. 246.

ample,

ample, of a modern free State overturned
from its Foundations from the Prevalence
of the same Cause. S E C T. XV.

“ AFTER the Conclusion of the Peace
“ between the two Northern Crowns, in
“ 1660, some considerable Care and
“ Time was necessary to redress the Dis-
“ orders occasioned by so terrible a War.
“ DENMARK had been most violently
“ shaken :—The *People* had been in a
“ Manner ruined by the Miseries attend-
“ ing the War : The *Nobility*, though
“ *Lords* and *Masters*, were full of Dis-
“ content.

“ THE King thought fit to appoint a
“ Meeting of the three Estates at COPEN-
“ HAGEN, viz. the Nobility, Commonal-
“ ty, and Clergy :—The Nobility were
“ for exempting themselves from paying
“ Taxes, except only in the Way of vo-
“ luntary

SECT. " voluntary Contribution. The People held
 XV. " it reasonable, that the necessary Sums of
 " Money should be levied proportionally ;
 " and that the Nobility, who enjoyed *all*
 " the *Lands*, should at least pay their
 " *Share* of the *Taxes*.

" THIS Manner of arguing was very
 " displeasing to the Nobles ; and begat
 " much Heat, and many Replies on both
 " Sides. At Length a principal Senator
 " stood up, and in great Anger told the
 " President of the City, that the Com-
 " mons neither understood nor considered
 " the Privilege of the Nobility, who at
 " all Times had been exempted from
 " Taxes, nor the true Condition of them-
 " selves, who were no other than *Slaves* :
 " [the Word in the *Danish* Tongue, is
 " *unfree*]. This Word *Slaves* put all the
 " Burghers and Clergy in Disorder : On
 " which NANSON, the *Speaker* of the
 " House

“ House of Commons, rose out of his S E C T.
“ Seat, and swore, that the Commons XV.
“ were no Slaves ; nor would from thence-
“ forth be called so by the Nobility ;
“ which they should soon prove to their
“ Cost.

“ It was now thought necessary, by
“ the Commons, to consider speedily of
“ the most effectual Means to suppress the
“ intolerable Pride of the Nobility, and
“ how to mend their own Condition.
“ After many Debates, they concluded,
“ that they should immediately wait upon
“ the King, and offer him their Votes
“ and Assistance to be absolute Monarch
“ of the Realm.—They promised them-
“ selves, the King would have so great
“ Obligations to them for this Piece of
“ Service, that he would grant and con-
“ firm such Privileges, as should put
“ them above the Degree of Slaves.
“ They

SECT. " They knew, he had been hitherto
XV. " curbed by the Nobility to a great Mea-
" fure ; and now saw their own Force, to
" perform what they undertook. At the
" worst, they supposed they should only
" change *many Masters* for *one* ; and could
" better bear Hardships from a *King*, than
" from *inferior* Persons : Besides the Sa-
" tisfaction of *Revenge*, on those who had
" hitherto not only *used* them *ill*, but *in-*
" *sulted* over them so lately. They knew
" the King, and had seen him bear with
" an admirable Patience and Constancy,
" all his Calamities ; were persuaded
" that he was a valiant Prince, who had
" often exposed his Person for the Sake of
" the Public ; and therefore thought,
" they could never do enough to shew their
" Gratitude.

" SCARCE was this Proposal made, but
" it was agreed to : and nothing but the
" Unsea-

“ Unseasonableness of the Time, it being
“ now near Night, deferred the imme-
“ diate Execution of it : but all the ne-
“ cessary Measures were taken against next
“ Morning.

SECT.

XV.

“ All this while, the Nobles either had
“ none, or but small Intimations of the
“ Designs of the Commons. They had
“ been so long used to flight and tyrannize over them, that they were not
“ now sensible of any impending Danger from thence ; contemning their
“ Threats as well as their Persons ; and
“ imagining they would have repented
“ next Day, and complied with all that
“ should have been demanded of them :
“ But the Plot was deeper laid than they
“ supposed : for not only the Prime Minister, but some other Members of
“ their own Body, who had Employments depending on the Court, were
“ enga-

S E C. T. “ engaged in it. This Inadvertency, with
XV. “ the Want of requisite Courage on the
“ Occasion, brought upon them the Mis-
“ chief on a sudden ; so that, except two
“ or three, who were more than ordinary
“ doubtful of what might happen, and
“ slipped out of Town that Night, the rest
“ were altogether fearless of Danger, till
“ the very Instant that the Evil was reme-
“ diless.

“ SCHACK, the Governor of the Town,
“ urged vehemently, that the Commons
“ should insist to have a Promise under the
“ King’s Hand, and make themselves
“ sure of a Reward for so considerable a
“ Present as they were going to make,
“ whilst they had so fair an Opportunity
“ in their Hands : But all his Instances
“ were in vain ; they were in the giving
“ Humour, and resolved to do it gene-
“ rously, trusting the King for the Per-
“ formance

“formance of his Word ; a Thing which SECT.
“they have since often, tho’ too late, re- XV.
“pented of.

“THE Mischief no sooner appeared to
“the Nobles, but they saw it was una-
“voidable : There was no Leisure al-
“lowed them to consult ; and to deny
“their Compliance, or even to delay it,
“was dangerous. They saw, they were
“no longer Masters ; the Commons were
“armed ; the Army and Clergy against
“them ; and they found now too late,
“that what the Day before they had con-
“sidered only as the Effort of an uncon-
“stant giddy Multitude, was guided by
“wiser Heads, and supported by Encou-
“ragements from Court ; nay possibly by
“some of their own Body.—They were
“assembled in a fortified Town, remote
“from their several Countries and Inter-
“ests (where they had governed like so

SECT. “ many Princes) in the Power of those
XV. “ who could, and certainly would be re-
“ venged, in Case they proved refractory.
“ The best Way, therefore, was to seem
“ to approve of what they could not
“ hinder.

“ In the mean time, the Commons
“ grew impatient : The Answer given
“ them was not satisfactory. The Clergy
“ and Burghers therefore, led on by their
“ Bishop and President, proceed without
“ them to the Palace, and were met by
“ the Prime Minister, and conducted by
“ him to the Hall of Audience, whither,
“ after some short Time, the King came
“ to them. The Bishop makes a long
“ Speech, setting forth the Praises of his
“ Majesty, and the Cause of their waiting
“ on him ; concluding with an Offer, in
“ the Name of themselves, the two most
“ numerous, and (if he pleased) the most
“ powerful

“ powerful Estates, of an hereditary and SECT.
“ absolute Dominion ; together with the XV.
“ Assistance of their Hands and Purfes,
“ in Case any Body should go about to ob-
“ struct so necessary and laudable a Design
“ for the Good of the Country.

“ BUT the Nobles were all this while
“ in a grievous Distraction : They saw
“ the Commons were gone to the King
“ without them. Their Messengers
“ brought News back, that their Propo-
“ sition of entailing the Crown on the
“ Heirs Males, was not pleasing, because
“ a greater Advantage was in Prospect :
“ That this Offer was looked upon to
“ proceed from Persons that would not
“ have bestowed any Thing, if they could
“ have helped it : That it was thought
“ they pretended a Merit in giving only a

Q²

“ Part

SECT. " Part, when it was not in their Power
XV. " to hinder the taking the whole.

" WHILE the Nobles were all together,
" an Officer comes into the Room, and
" whispers some of the principal Men,
" that the City Gates were shut, and the
" Keys carried to Court. The Governor
" had sent one BILL, the Town-Major,
" to put this in Execution; who, as soon
" as he had done it, came to the House
" where they were met, and sat down at
" Table among the Senators. This dif-
" mal News of the Officer was presently
" whispered round the Company: They
" asked him, what Destiny was appointed
" them? whether they were there to be
" massacred, or what else was to be done
" with them? The Town-Major calmly
" answered, that he believed there was no
" Danger towards them: That such vio-
" lent Measures would not be taken by so
" gracious

“ gracious a King ; though he had indeed
“ given the Orders himself for the shutting
“ the Gates ; and that no body was to
“ stir out of Town without Leave. There
“ wanted no more than this Confirmation
“ from the Officer, to overthrow all the
“ Resolution and Consultations of the
“ Nobles : The Dread of losing their
“ Lives took away all Thoughts of their
“ Liberty. They immediately dispatched
“ Messengers, both to the Court and the
“ Commons, to give Notice of their
“ Disposition to comply with what was
“ formerly proposed ; assuring them like-
“ wise, that they were ready to agree to
“ all that should be asked of them.

“ THREE Days Time was requisite, to
“ prepare Matters for that fatal Hour,
“ wherein they were to make a formal
“ Surrender of their Liberty. The Scaf-
“ folds were raised in the Place before the

SECT. " Castle, and adorned with Tapestry :

XV. " Orders were given for the Soldiery and
 " Burghers to appear in Arms under their
 " respective Officers: And when all
 " Things were ready, on the 27th of
 " *October* in the Morning, the King,
 " Queen, and Royal Family, mounted on
 " a Theatre erected for that Purpose, and
 " being placed in Chairs of State under
 " Canopies of Velvet, received publicly
 " the Homage of all the Senators, No-
 " bility, Clergy, and Commons.

" THUS this great Affair was finished ;
 " and the Kingdom of DENMARK, in
 " four Days Time, changed from an
 " Estate little differing from *Aristocracy*,
 " to as *absolute* a *Monarchy* as any is at
 " present in the World *."

* Account of DENMARK, by MOLESWORTH,
 Chap. 7.

THUS,

THUS, we see, DENMARK was *enslaved* SECT.
by the Inroachments of the Nobility on XV.
the Privileges of the Commons. And can
the higher Ranks of this Kingdom be so
blindly partial as to imagine, that the
People of England (if ever their essential
Privileges should be invaded and torn from
them by the fatal Arts of Parliamentary
Influence) would tamely sit down under
so cruel an Oppression, and not repel so
desperate an Evil, though it were even at
the Hazard of a *desperate* Remedy?

THESE, no Doubt, are ungrateful Re-
marks, to those whom they most concern.
But the Writer continues to wrap himself
up in the Integrity of his Intentions; and
concludes in the cogent Style of a Person,
once revered by the Ancestors of the

Q 4

modern

SECT. modern Great:—"Am I therefore your
 XV. "Enemy, because I tell you the Truth?"

SECT. XVI.

*Of the immediate Consequences of national
 Selfishness and Disunion.*

SECT. "If we would obtain a full View of
 XVI. "our Subject, it is a necessary, though dis-
 agreeable Task, to trace this Disunion
 "through its particular Effects *."

THE ruling Principle of ministerial or
 parliamentary Influence had hitherto been
 declaimed against, as solely tending to de-
 stroy our Liberties, by giving too much
 Power to the Crown. In the Progress of
 this Work, it hath been shewn to have had
 other fatal Effects, by destroying the nation-
 al *Capacity, Valour, and Spirit of Union* †.

* Vol. I. p. 123. † Ibid. p. 127, &c.

'Tis with the greatest Satisfaction, that SECT.
the Writer finds the general Sense of the XVI.
Nation, since the Publication of his first
Essay, turned into the same new Chan-
nel.

THIS important Circumstance, there-
fore, being now generally agreed to, except
among those few who expect to be Gainers
by the common Calamity, it needs the
less to be inforced or enlarged on, in this
Volume. The ruinous Effects of this in-
satiable Thirst of Power and Profit, found-
ed in Parliamentary Influence, together
with the notorious Incapacity, Effemi-
nacy, Inaction, and Debility, of those who
aspire to the highest and most important
Trusts, are at length no longer doubted.
All Attention is turned on Gain or Plea-
sure ; Duty is forgot, or laughed at : The
main Springs of Government are thus re-
laxed ; and, if a timely Check is not put
to

SECT. to this ruling Evil, the Nation, in all Ap-
 XVI. pearance, devoted to Destruction : Info-
 much, that the late and present Strife about
 Places of Profit in *this* Kingdom, puts one
 in Mind of the *drunken Crew* of the Ship,
 who were *squabbling* about the *Brandy Casks*,
 while the *Vessel* was *splitting* on a Rock.

SECT. XVII.

*Of the most practicable Remedy for this capital
 Evil.*

SECT. WAVING therefore, for the present, many
 XVII. new and material Points of Enquiry, which
 will naturally offer themselves to Con-
 sideration, in the Progress of the first Vo-
 lume, I shall proceed to consider what may
 be the first and most practicable Means of re-
 storing the Nation to its natural Strength.

I MEAN not to enter into a Detail of all
 those Methods, by which a general Re-
 formation, founded on a general Change of
 Manners

Manners and Principles, might be attempted. This were an idle Project under our present Circumstance. All that can be hoped for, in the first Instance, is only to stop the Career of the Nation in its Progress towards immediate Ruin. The Motion of the *Ship* must be *gradually* changed and relaxed, if we would wind her *safely* into *Port*: Too sudden a *Check*, thro' the *Violence* of the *Concussion*, might be *fatal*.

S E C T.
XVII.

THE Writer fears, the very first Circumstance by which alone even a *partial* Reform can be begun, will be regarded as chimerical, if not inhuman. He foresees, the Remedy will prove a nauseous Draught to those who must take it: Not much more palatable, than a Mefs of SPARTAN *Black broth*.

IT hath been laid down by the best political Writers, as a capital Maxim, that, in order

SECT. order to bring back a State to its first Prin-
XVII. ciples, you must cut off the corrupted
Members of the Body Politic. Now, if
the Principles advanced in this Work be
true, the corrupted Members of our Body
Politic should seem to be those, who thro'
the Force of parliamentary or other Influence
are possessed of Places of Trust and Conse-
quence in any public Department of the
State, for which they are in any Respect IN-
CAPABLE. These Gentlemen will do the
Writer great Injustice, if they charge him
with any Design against their *Lives*; but
their *Appointments*, he must needs think,
they ought to be *deprived of*, because they
fulfil not those Conditions on which, and
for the Sake of which, these *Appointments*
were *given* by their *Country*. To *displace*
these Men therefore, as far as the Laws
allow; to *prevent* others from creeping in
upon the same Principle; and to *bestow*
public Offices of Trust and Importance on
Men

Men of *Capacity, Courage, and Virtue*, SECT.
XVII.
is in Effect to cut off the *corrupted* Mem-
bers of the State, and to restore it to its
first Principles.

SECT. XVIII.

*By what Means this Remedy can be
effected.*

SUPERFICIAL Writers talk of the Re- SECT.
XVIII.
formation of a State, as if it was a Matter
of no more Difficulty, than that of sweep-
ing out a Room, or clearing a China Jar
of Cobwebs.

BUT they who look a little deeper into
Things, are soon convinced, that it is a
Work of almost insuperable Difficulty.
The Reason is this. A State cannot want
a general Reform, unless the Great be cor-
rupted : now when these are corrupted,
“ a coercive

SECT. "a coercive Power is wanting: They who
 XVIII. should cure the Evil are the very Delinquents; and moral or political Physic, is what no distempered Mind will ever administer to itself *."

IF the Shepherds are watchful, the Flock is easily kept within the Fold: But if these be careless of their Charge, "Quis
 "custodiet ipsos Custodes?"

THE great Geometer said, "Give me but
 "a Place to stand on, and I will move the
 "Earth." So says the true Politician,
 "Give me but a coercive Power, and I
 "will reform the Great."

SUCH a coercive Power (like the Geometer's imaginary Station) is of such Difficulty to be found, that the Writer made no Scruple to declare, "that NECESSITY

* Vol. I. p. 220.

"alone

“ alone must in such a Case be the Parent
 “ of Reformation : So long as degenerate
 “ and unprincipled Manners can support
 “ themselves, they will be deaf to Rea-
 “ son, blind to Consequences, and obsti-
 “ nate in the long established Pursuit of
 “ Gain and Pleasure *.”

SECT.
 XVIII.

THIS compelling Power, therefore,
Necessity, may be of two different Kinds.

ONE Kind of *Necessity*, not yet come
 upon us, though it be too evidently ad-
 vancing, is “ when the State itself totters,
 “ through the general Incapacity, Cowar-
 “ dice, or Disunion, of those who should
 “ support it †.” This may properly be
 called *external Necessity*: Because, when-
 ever it appears, it will come from *with-*
out. The Enemies of our Country will
 pour in upon us; till the blindest and most

* Vol. I. p. 220. † Ibid. p. 221.

incor-

SECT. incorrigible will be awakened to a Sense of
XVIII. Danger and impending Ruin. *This NE-*
CESSITY will prove a most *severe*, though
salutary Task-master; and standing with a
scorpion Whip, over a *dissolute and barlot*
Kingdom, *chastise* her into *Labour* and
Amendment.

THE *Second Kind of Necessity*, should it
 ever come upon us, is of such a Genius,
 as might perhaps happily prevent the Ap-
 proach of the *first*. 'Tis likewise of a
 milder Nature; nor would come with
 those alarming Circumstances of national
 Ruin, with which the other must be dread-
 fully attended. This might be called an
internal Necessity; and would arise, "when
 " the Voice of an abused People should
 " rouse the *Great* into Fear*." If a
 People thus abused, were less corrupt than
 their Leaders, who can say, that this Ne-

* Vol. I. p. 221.

cessity would be either dangerous or hurt-
ful? Might not the honest and powerful
Voice of such a People awaken the *Great*
from their *Dream of Folly*, and lead them
to adopt those salutary Manners and Prin-
ciples, which, in a State of too *prosperous*
Security, they had blindly *forsaken*?

I AM not ignorant, that it hath been
made a Point of Debate, whether, in po-
litical Matters, the general Voice of a
People ought to be held worth much
Regard. Right sorry I am to observe,
that this Doubt is the Growth of *la-*
ter Times; of Times, too, which boast
their Love of *Freedom*: But ought,
surely, to *blush*, when they look back on
the generous Sentiments of *ancient Days*,
which Days *we* stigmatize with the Name
of *slavish*.

SECT. THUS runs the Writ of Summons, to
 XVIII. the Parliament of the Twenty-third of

 EDWARD the First.

“ THE *King* to the venerable Father in
 “ Christ, R. Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 “ Greeting: As the most just Law, esta-
 “ blished by the provident Wisdom of
 “ Princes, doth appoint, *that what con-*
 “ *cerns all, should be APPROVED by ALL;*
 “ so it evidently implies, that *Dangers com-*
 “ *mon to all, should be obviated by Re-*
 “ *medies provided by all* *.”

A noble Acknowledgment from an
 ENGLISH *King*, which ought never, sure,

* Thus runs the original Latin. “ Rex venera-
 “ bili in Christo Patri R. eadem Gratia Cantuariensi
 “ Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primat. Salutem. Sic-
 “ ut Lex justissima, provida circumspectione fa-
 “ crorum Principum stabilita, hortatur & statuit, ut
 “ quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus approbetur; sic &
 “ innuit evidenter, ut communibus Periculis per Re-
 “ media provisæ communiter obvietur.”

to

to be *forgotten* or *trod under foot* by ENGLISH Subjects!

SECT.
XVIII.

THERE are two manifest Reasons, why, in a degenerate State, and a declining Period, the united Voice of a People is, in general, the surest Test of Truth in all essential Matters on which their own Welfare depends, so far as the ENDS of Political Measures are concerned.

FIRST, Because in such a Period and such a State, the Body of a People are naturally the least corrupt Part of such a People. For all *general* Corruptions, of whatever Kind, begin among the *Leaders*, and descend from *these* to the *lower* Ranks. Take such a State, therefore, in what Period of Degeneracy you please, the *higher* Ranks will, in the natural Course of Things, be *farther* gone in the *ruling* Evils than the *lower*; and therefore, the *less* to be *relied* on.

R 2

SECONDLY,

SECT. SECONDLY, A still more cogent Reason is, that the *general Body* of the People have not such a *Bias* hung upon their *Judgment* by the Prevalence of personal and particular *Interest*, as the *Great*, in all Things which relate to State Matters. It is of no particular or personal Consequence to the general Body of a People, what *Men* are employed, provided the *general Welfare* be accomplished; because nothing but the *general Welfare* can be an Object of Desire to the *general Body*. But it is of much particular and personal Consequence to the *Great*, what *Men* are employed; because, through their Connexions and Alliances, they must generally find either their *Friends* or *Enemies* in *Power*. Their own private *Interests*, therefore, naturally throw a *Bias* on their *Judgments*, and destroy that *Impartiality* which the
general

general *Body* of an *uncorrupt People* doth naturally possess.

SECT.
XVIII.

HENCE then it appears, that the united Voice of an uncorrupt People is, in general, the safest Test of *political* GOOD and EVIL; and therefore, the best Aid and Assistant to an upright Prince, in the Choice of such MINISTERS as may secure to them the GOOD, and divert the EVIL.

BUT as *Philosophy* may aid and confirm the general Sense of an uncorrupt People in this important Circumstance; so, the Writer leaves it to the Determination of his Country, whether, if ever a GREAT MINISTER* should arise among us, he would not naturally be distinguished by the following characteristic Qualities.

* Let it be observed, that there is an essential Distinction to be maintained here, between a *good Minister* and a *great Minister*. They may be *equally upright* in their *Intentions*; but the Difference may lie either in the superior *Ability*, or *Courage* of the latter.

S E C T. XIX.

Of the Characteristics of a great Minister.

S E C T.
XIX. HE will not only have honest Intentions of Mind, but Wisdom to plan, and
— Courage to execute.

HE will regard the Interests of the Prince and People, as inseparably and invariably united.

HE will, to the utmost of his Power, abolish ministerial Influence on Parliaments, and discourage Parliamentary Influence among the Great.

HE will endeavour to destroy Party Distinctions; and to unite all Men, in the Support of the common and national Welfare.

In Consequence of this, he will be hated by the corrupt Part of the Kingdom, high
and

and low ; because *their* Expectations of Advantage, can only arise from those Distinctions and that Influence which *He* labours to abolish. SECT.
XIX.

THE honest and unprejudiced Part of the Nation will adore him, for the contrary Reason.

HE will be remarkable, rather for his Knowledge in the great Principles of Wisdom and Virtue, than in the oblique Ways and Mysteries of selfish Cunning.

HE may be displaced once, or more than once, by the Power of Faction : But the united Voice of an uncorrupt People will restore him to the Favour of the Sovereign ; especially in a Time of Danger. And the oftener he is cut down by corrupt Power, the deeper Root he will take in the Affections of the Prince and People, and rise and flourish with renewed Vigour.

SECT. His private Life will be consistent with
 XIX. his public Conduct: He will not adopt,
 but scorn the degenerate Manners of the
 Times. Above Luxury and Parade, he
 will be modest and temperate; and his
 Contempt of Wealth will be as signal as
 his Contempt of Luxury.

HE will be distinguished by his Regard
 to Religion, Honour, and his Country.

HE will not despise, but honour the
 People, and listen to their united Voice.

IF his Measures are not always clear to
 the People in their *Means*, they will always
 be so in their *Ends*. In this, he will imi-
 tate a great Queen, or her great Minister,
 “ whose Policy was deep, and the Means
 “ she employed were often very secret;
 “ but the Ends to which this Policy and
 “ these Means were directed, *were never*
 “ *equivocal.*”

As a natural and happy Consequence of S E C T.
 this Conduct, should he happen either to XIX.
err in a *Design*, or *fail* in its *Execution*, an
 uncorrupt People will still *confide* in him.
 They will continue to repose on his general
 Wisdom and Integrity; will regard him
 as a kind and watchful Father; yet, tho'
wise, not *infallible*.

HE will look *forward*, rather than to
 what is *past*; and be more zealous to se-
 lect and reward those who may do well,
 than to prosecute those whom, in his own
 Opinion, he may think Delinquents.

HIS Principles and Conduct, as they
 will be *hated* by *vile*, so they will be *de-
 rided* by *narrow* Minds, which cannot en-
 large their Conceptions beyond the beaten
 Track of present Practice. Prince MAU-
 RICE was *ridiculed* in his *first Attempts*, for
 those

SECT. those very Expedients, by which he drove
 XIX. the SPANIARDS out of his Country*.

IF his little or no Influence in Parli-
 ment be objected to him, he will answer
 as HENRY the Great did with regard to
Rochelle, “I do all I desire to do there, in
 “ doing nothing but what I ought.”

HE will practise “that double Oeco-
 “ nomy, which is so rarely found, or
 “ even understood. I mean, not only
 “ that inferior Oeconomy, which consists
 “ in the Management of the Receipts
 “ and Issues of the public Revenue; but
 “ that superior Oeconomy, which consists
 “ in contriving the great Schemes of Ne-
 “ gotiation and Action.”

THE Laws he frames, will be generous
 and comprehensive; that is, in Lord VE-

* *Burrisb*, Bat. illustrat. p. 189.

RULAM's nervous Expression, "Deep, not
" vulgar : not made upon the Spur of a
" particular Occasion for the present, but
" out of Providence of the future ; to
" make the Estate of the People still more
" and more happy, after the Manner of
" the Legislators in ancient and heroical
" Times."

ABOVE all, he will study to restore and
secure upright *Manners* and *Principles* ;
knowing *these* to be the very *Strength* and
Vitals of every *State*.

As by all these Means, he will put the
natural and internal Springs of Govern-
ment into Action ; so he will keep up
that Action in its full Vigour, by employ-
ing Ability and Merit : And hence, Men
of Genius, Capacity, and Virtue, will of
Course fill the most important and publick
Stations,

SECT. Stations, in every Department of the
XIX. State.

To fulfil this great Purpose, he will search for Men, capable of serving the Public, without regard to Wealth, Family, Parliamentary Interest, or Connexion.

HE will despise those idle Claims, of *Priority* of Rank, or *Seniority* in Station, when they are *unsupported* by *Services* performed in that Rank and Station: He will search for those, wherever they are to be found, whose active Spirits and superior Capacity promise Advantage to the Public.

HE will not abuse this Power indulged to him, of superseding superior Rank, by preferring his own Favourites. If he finds the Appearance of Ability and Worth among

mong the Friends or Dependents of his SECT.
Enemies, he will trust them with the Exe- XIX.
cution of his most important Designs, on
the Success of which, even his own Cha-
racter may depend.

HAVING no Motive, but the Welfare
of his Country; if he cannot accomplish
that, by such Measures as his Heart ap-
proves, he will not struggle for a Conti-
nuance in Power, but bravely and peace-
ably *resign*.

SECT. XX.

The Conclusion.

WHETHER such a Character as is here
delineated, may ever arise, is a Question SECT.
which it were superfluous for the Writer to XX.
determine: If ever such a Minister appears,
he will best be seen by his own Lustre.

THERE

SECT. XX. THERE is another Character, belonging indeed to a much lower Walk in Life, — which might be no less strange than that which is here delineated. I mean, the Character of a political Writer, not only *intentionally*, but *in fact* IMPARTIAL.

THIS is a Character which hath never yet existed; nor, probably, will ever appear, in our own Country. However, let us attempt a Sketch of this ideal Portrait, for the Use of those who may aspire to Impartiality; and consider, “by what Characteristics HE would be distinguished.”

HE would chuse an untrodden Path of Politics, where no Party-man ever dared to enter.

HE

HE would be disliked by Party-bigots of every Denomination ; who, while they applauded one Page of his Work, would execrate the next.

SECT.

XX.

THE undisguised Freedom and Boldness of his Manner, would please the Brave, astonish the Weak, disgust and confound the Guilty.

EVERY Rank, Party, and Profession would acknowledge he had done tolerable Justice to every Rank, Party, and Profession, their own only excepted.

HE would be called *arrogant* by those, who call every Thing *Arrogance*, that is not *Servility*.

IF he writ in a Period, when his Country was declining ; while he pointed out
the

SECT. the Means from whence alone honest
XX. *Hope* could arise, he would be charged
by scribbling Sycophants with plunging a
Nation in *Despair*.

WHILE he pointed out the Abuses of Freedom, and their fatal Effects, he would be blackened by designing Whisperers, as the Enemy of Freedom itself.

THE worthless of every Profession would be his sworn Enemies; but most of all, the worthless of his own Profession.

As he would be reviled and defamed by the *dissolute* Great, without Cause; so he would be applauded by an *honest* People, beyond his Deservings.

THO' his Abilities were small, yet the Integrity of his Intentions would make
Amends

Amends for the Mediocrity of his Talents. SECT.
XX.

As such a Writer could have little Pretensions to literary Fame, so he would not be intoxicated with the Fumes of literary Vanity: But would think, with SHEFFIELD, that

One Moral, or a mere well-natur'd Deed,
Does all Desert in Sciences exceed.

YET, tho' he scorned the Gildings of false Ambition, and Riches acquired by Adulation; he might not, possibly, be unconscious of that unsought Dignity, that envy'd Superiority to Wealth and Titles, which even the Love of Wisdom and Virtue give.

SHOULD any of the Great, therefore, affect to disdain him, on account of his private Station, he might perhaps reply, with PERDITA,

S E C T.

XX.

I was not much afraid ; for once or twice
I was about to speak, and tell him plainly,
The self-same Sun that shines upon his Palace,
Hides not his heav'nly Visage from *my* Cottage,
But looks on *both alike*.

His free and unconquered Spirit would
look down with Contempt on Views of Interest,
when they came in Competition
with Views of Duty.

NAY, were he called to so severe a
Trial, he would even dare to make the
greatest and the rarest of all honest Sacrifices,
that of Friendship itself, to Truth and
Virtue.

SHOULD the Sense of his Duty to his
Country determine him to a farther
Prosecution of his Labours, he would
say,

If

If such his Fate, do thou, fair TRUTH, descend, SECT.
And watchful, guard him in an honest End : XX.

Kindly severe, instruct his equal Line,
To court no Friend, nor own a Foe, but thine.
But if his giddy Eye should vainly quit
Thy sacred Paths, to run the Maze of Wit;
If his apostate Heart should e'er incline
To offer Incense at Corruption's Shrine,
Urge, urge thy Pow'r ; the black Attempt con-
found ;

Oh, dash the smoking Censer to the Ground !
Thus aw'd to Fear, instructed Man may see,
That Guilt is doom'd to sink in Infamy.

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